

UNIVERSITY OF ST. MICHAEL'S COLLEGE



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XVIII

The
Rationale of Ceremonial

1540—1543

with Notes and Appendices

AND AN

*Essay on the Regulation of Ceremonial
during the reign of King Henry VIII*

with four facsimiles of handwritings

BY

CYRIL S. COBB, M.A., B.C.L.

LONGMANS, GREEN AND CO
39 PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON
NEW YORK, BOMBAY & CALCUTTA

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W. Jolly & sons.

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. For a description of our photographic *facsimiles*, see p. lxxix, below.

PREFACE

THE TRACT here presented to the ALCUIN CLUB was undertaken, and in the main prepared, some years ago. The writer then derived much valuable assistance from Dr. W. E. Collins, now the Bishop of Gibraltar. Press of other work however prevented its production; and it was not until the writer happily was able to open up communications with the Rev. Christopher Wordsworth that the necessary finishing work was able to be done upon a rather rough original draft; indeed, without his help, counsel and advice, it would never have seen the light.

The writer wishes to acknowledge with much gratitude the very valuable notes which have been supplied for the most part by the Rev. Christopher Wordsworth to illustrate the text; many other suggestions have also been made for the improvement of the introduction and appendices by the same learned writer, who has also been indefatigable in the monotonous but necessary work of the revision of the proofs. The Rev. F. E. Brightman has kindly read through the proofs of some parts of the tract and has made several valuable suggestions, but he must not be held responsible for any inaccuracies which may be detected.

Thanks are specially due to his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury for permission to make free use of the MS. (no. 1107) in the Lambeth Library, and to Mr. S. W. Kershaw, F.S.A., for his kind help, particularly in relation to the facsimiles reproduced from that MS. The authorities of the British Museum have kindly allowed photographs to be taken of portions of the Cottonian MS. (Cleopatra, E. v). Sir G. F. Warner, the Keeper of the

MSS., has given much help in assisting towards the attempt to identify some of the various handwritings of the scribes employed on the different parts of the Lambeth MS. as well as that of the fair copy (Cleop. E. v) made presumably for King Henry's use. Mr. C. W. Moule, Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, has been so good as to compare some photographic specimens of the handwritings in the two MSS. with certain pages in the Parker Collection in his charge, and also to consult Dr. M. R. James, King's College, Cambridge, upon questions which arise concerning them. Mrs. S. C. Lomas has been indefatigable in the use of her expert knowledge towards the same end, as well as in the collation of the MSS. On the question of the handwritings, however, we must rest content with the negative result, that whatever part any of the Bishops, who formed the Committee mentioned on page xlix of the Introduction, may have taken in its compilation, none of them have left their own handwriting upon the paper of either of the two MSS. of the *Rationale* which survive.

This short title, "RATIONALE," does not occur in either of the MSS. of the *Book Concerning Ceremonies to be used in the Church [of England]*; but it has been generally adopted by modern writers. It was perhaps suggested by the title of the famous work of Durandus, or possibly by the phrase "*discrimen et rationem ceremoniarum*" in a passage in the *Journal of the House of Lords* (21 Aug. 1538) cited in a note to the Introduction (p. xlix) where its more recent paraphrase in English is given higher up on the same page.

16th June, 1910.

C. S. C.

RATIONALE

OR

BOOK OF CEREMONIES

CIRCA 1540

INTRODUCTION

I.

THE DIFFERENCE IN THE IMMEDIATE PRETEXTS FOR THE REFORMATION ON THE CONTINENT AND IN ENGLAND.

GREAT religious, political or social movements are in the popular mind frequently connected with, and attributed to, some more or less striking incident, which heralds the beginning of active operations. It is not, therefore, surprising to find the "king's business" in the matter of his divorce from Queen Katherine of Aragon, and the question of indulgences, frequently regarded as the causes of the Reformation in England and on the Continent respectively.

In all such cases, however, the real causes lie far deeper. There is a latent power working through many avenues, and the more or less trivial circumstance, that calls this deep-seated motive power into activity, is really but an appropriate instrument or pretext found ready to the hand of the individual leader, or the reforming organization. That instrument however which is able to call such powers into activity, apart from the interest which it possesses in itself, may well attract our attention as furnishing an indication of the particular drift of thought, and the special direction of movement, along which activity, when once called into being, will most successfully develop.

(a) This difference in the External Pretext helps us in the

first place to understand the difference in standpoint between the Reformation in England and that on the Continent. When after many years of silent working in men's minds the process that we know as "the Reformation" began to take practical shape in England, it naturally travelled along the existing characteristic lines of English thought. The same thing had happened on the Continent, but the lines of thought had been different. The position of the Church of England in relation to the correction of the abuses from which she had so long suffered under a foreign administrative system, was above all things a national question, and a matter of practical politics; therefore the "king's business" served as an appropriate instrument to set in motion the whole machinery of Church and State against the Papal jurisdiction. On the Continent, the problem raised was too wide to be in any sense national; it touched immediately the whole question of man's intellectual freedom¹; therefore an attack on the system of indulgences seemed a fitting instrument by means of which to work out emancipation—religious, political, and social.

It is, then, just from the difference in the character of these instruments that we get the indications we want of the difference in the lines of thought and direction between the continental and the English Reformation. It is the difference between national freedom and individual liberty. The English movement insists that the National Church shall be free from foreign interference to do its own work; the continental movement insists on the claim of the "common man" to his own birthright in his spiritual heritage as of individual right. We cannot fail to mark this contrast in every department of reform.

¹ It is part of the movement we know as "Humanism"; and Humanism, "though sometimes a rival of religion, was more often a powerful factor in spiritual development, refining, regulating, amplifying religious life and thought" (*Quarterly Review*, April, 1901, p. 459). Compare, for instance, the Acts of the Reformation Parliament (1529-36) and of the Contemporary Convocations (vide Dixon, *History of the Church of England*, vol. i. chaps. i, ii, iii, iv.) with the "Hundred Grievs," first drafted at the Diet of Wörms (1521) and produced at the Diet of Nurnberg (1522). See C. Beard's *Martin Luther* pp. 33-34, and 450. (For a resumé of the *Centum Gravamina*, see J. Paquier's *Jérôme Aléandre* Bk. iv. chap. xv.)

(b) In the second place it helps us to understand the difference of method pursued. The Reformers on the Continent and in England had the same aim in view—the reform of practical abuses. But not only was there a difference in standpoint, but also there was a difference in method. The Reformers of the Continent, hating the doctrines which in corrupted forms enforced those practical abuses as part of the religious system, aimed their first blows at the concrete presentments of those abuses. In England, on the other hand, we left the doctrinal question on one side, and struck first at the powers that by authorizing and supporting these outward practices, and their consequent abuses, gave them a fictitious importance; and this, in order that we might on national lines examine existing practical abuses and doctrinal errors, with a view to rejecting all that was found to be injurious, or false.

(c) Again, the Indulgence and the Divorce questions as occasions or instruments give us a useful indication of the reason for the difference in the nature of the tests applied in the two cases. The whole movement on the Continent was in its essence doctrinal; religious conviction was at the bottom of the popular outcry against abuses. All the practical abuses, such as those tabulated in the “*Centum Gravamina*,”¹ were in their essence tested by the doctrinal principle that underlay all reform on the Continent, i.e., the mode of the appropriation to the individual soul of the salvation which was acknowledged to be in Christ and in Christ only. There was no dispute as to the fact that the whole mediaeval fabric of religion was meant to be concerned with the salvation of the individual soul, but the way to attain that salvation was the debated point. The continental Reformers formulated a new way; they were, therefore, the first to attack the doctrines which underlay the old way, and everything else that formed part of the mediaeval scheme was soon involved in dispute and ruin, whether it deserved it or not.

¹ See B. Gerbhardt, *Die Gravamina der deutschen Nation gegen den römischen Hof*, Breslau, 1895; A. Wrede, *Deutsche Reichstagsakten*, ii. 661 et seq.

In England there was no such doctrinal *basis* for the Reformation.¹ In its early stages no question of doctrine was disputed; no administrative abuse was referred to a doctrinal test; in the case of the mooted reform of any practical abuse the question would be, not whether it was connected with any doctrine, true or false, but whether its existence did or did not help forward the Roman claims to jurisdiction in this country: the appeal would be to the spirit of national independence in Church and State.

(*d*) Lastly we are helped to understand the difference in the external circumstances which surrounded the English and the Continental Reformation. In England we were precluded from indulging in the hope which at first buoyed up the continental reformers, that, as the Roman Curia had managed to readjust itself to, or to absorb into itself, previous attempts at reform, so it would be in the present instance. This was a point which presented no special interest to us: we intended to be done with the Roman Curia once and for all, but not with the Catholic faith. On the Continent, too, it soon became plain that the Lutheran movement could not be adjusted to the Papal administrative system. Luther himself was reluctant enough to admit this, but the movement had already advanced beyond his control. With its cry for the immediate reform of practical abuses, it had appealed to popular opinion, and popular opinion was only too eager not only to reform but to abolish. The reformation had called up

¹ Yet the continental Reformation had a political side just as the English Reformation had a doctrinal side, but their importance was reversed in the two cases. See for instance, Beard's *Hibbert Lectures*, 1883, pp. 99 et seq., and pp. 302 et seq. Is it not just this importance of the *political* over the doctrinal element in England that has given that tinge of what is called Erastianism to our later Reform of doctrinal errors—yet may we not safely say that the strength of this political element had not a little to do with the preservation of the organic entity of the English Church throughout the "Reformation Period"? e.g. in imposing a single form for liturgical worship in the chaotic period of the Reformation under Edward VI, when we might have sunk into the state of affairs that prevailed in Germany for years, with many forms of *Kirchenordnungen*.

all those forces of disorder and disruption that were seething through Germany in the first quarter of the sixteenth century ; there was no longer any clear distinction between civil freedom and Christian liberty ; the Reformation in Germany had developed into a Revolution, out of which was eventually to emerge, not the old Church reformed, but a new church newly created¹.

In England we were saved all this. The appeal to the principle of nationality² freed the Church from the incubus of a foreign administrative system, and preserved her organically intact³ to proceed to a reform of practical abuses and doctrinal errors, based on the authority of antiquity and sound learning⁴.

¹ Leading Reformers, like Luther, Zwingli, and Melancthon, at the outset of the movement only wished to cleanse the old church ; they had no intention of setting up a new church : that was left to Münzer, Karlstadt, and the Anabaptists. The popular movement which was welcomed with such enthusiasm owed its practical force to the identification of the struggle for the welfare of the soul with the struggle for the welfare of the body. We see this, for instance, in *The Twelve Articles of the Peasant War*, 1525 (see them in translation in Belfort Bax, *The Peasants' War*, pp. 63-77).

² "The Germans had still indeed a political unity—the Empire with the Emperor and the Imperial Diet ; and they had bishops and dioceses. But there was wanting a higher organization of common life—in a word, a German National Church" (Döllinger, *Reunion of the Churches*, p. 68).

³ In England, "a revolution was effected, first in property, then in religion, but none in polity, none in the ancient constitution of the Church of England" (Dixon, *History of the Church of England*, vol. i. p. 6).

⁴ "So far as doctrine was concerned this was left to the Church, even though such business was carried out by her through the somewhat arbitrary expedient of Royal Commissions ; but reform in the management of the Church, her discipline and temporalities, was taken out of the hands of the clergy and put into those of the laity" (Dixon, *op. cit.* vol. i. pp. 7, 8).

II.

HOW THIS DIFFERENCE AFFECTED THE TREATMENT OF CEREMONIAL.

Bearing these differences in mind, and remembering that both in England and on the Continent the concrete objects of attack, in the first place, were those practical abuses under which the Church had suffered for at least 200 years, let us turn to one great source of those practical abuses; viz. the ceremonial system, which in itself is the outward expression of the doctrinal system. It is from its external nature that part of the Church's system which lends itself most readily to modification¹. A change in general opinion on some abstract point, without involving a definite declaration of an accepted change in doctrine, may well first manifest itself in a change of practice or ceremonial. So we find on the Continent that the change in the attitude of men's minds towards the doctrines of the Church, at the very beginning of the Reformation, found immediate concrete expression in the attack on outward practices². This process was assisted by the fact that there had almost ceased to be any intelligent understanding of the ceremonial system, and that the intellectual³ vigour of Germany, new-born from her universities⁴, and with the freshly tempered weapon of the

¹ Nowhere is this clearer than in connexion with the question of Indulgences. The theological theory is made to suit the practice, as from time to time the practice itself varied in accordance with the financial needs of the Papal Curia.

² "Religion interpenetrated this period of history; civil life was most closely interwoven with ecclesiastical life, and a change in dogmatics was followed by as weighty consequences as are attendant, in the present day, upon a change in the political constitution" (Hagenbach, *History of the Reformation*, Eng. Trans. vol. i. p. 118).

³ Compare the Spanish proverb "Es tan docto que está en peligro de ser Lutherano."

⁴ "When the field was widened from the universities to the people at large, the struggle ceased to be merely about freedom of study; it began to be a question as to what the people should believe and should practice" (Zeller, *Histoire d'Allemagne*, vol. vii. p. 280).

German language as developed in the *Meistergesang*, refused to retain a system of meaningless objective ceremonial observances along with the new subjective religious ideas of which Luther was the champion. So with the change in the fundamental nature of popular religion¹ which Lutheranism introduced, the system of ceremonial observances which had existed so long was swept away². But it

¹ Really this way of looking at religion had become part of the genius of the German people, and even of the North of Europe as distinct from the South—the Teutonic as distinct from the Latin races. “Dans la religion les Italiens, les Romains en particulier, goûtaient surtout la culte extérieure. Pour eux, l’ascension de l’âme vers son Dieu devait principalement s’opérer par une série de démonstrations pieuses et de formules codifiées. Pour l’Allemand, idéaliste et rêveur, cette union devait être avant tout intérieure et suprasensible. Aussi, depuis longtemps, dans le Nord de l’Europe, avaient cours des opinions théologiques dont la tendance était de diminuer, souvent avec excès, la valeur de l’œuvre extérieure au profit de l’œuvre intérieure et par dessus tout, d’exalter la loi en Jésus Christ” (Paquier, *Jérôme Aléandre*, pp. 138, 139).

² Just as at the outset of the Reformation movement on the Continent the leaders had no intention of breaking with the old Church, so they expressed no wish to abolish external ceremonial observances. Luther retained many of them, but set no value upon them, holding that if they were abused they should be abolished and others substituted. The strength and virtue of any ordinance is the just use that is made of it; otherwise it is of no account at all. Luther considered, too, that nothing was gained by mere external removal of abuses, by the violent abolishment of images and ceremonies, especially if the people were not aware of the true reasons for such innovations, but merely followed the multitude blindly (cf. Hagenbach, *History of the Reformation*, vol. ii. p. 14, vol. i. p. 185). Zwingli, too, regarded ceremonies, as in themselves indifferent. It was men like Karlstadt and the reformers of the inferior sort who laid such stress on externals, believing that Reformation consisted principally in negation, in the abolition of forms, in the removal of images, and in a turbulent abandonment of fasts and hitherto existing ecclesiastical regulations, . . . and they sought to make this liberty a law to others and impose upon them a new yoke instead of the old (Hagenbach, *op. cit.* vol. i. p. 172). These men were the leaders of the common people, and it was the commons and even the burghers who, forming the bulk of the active movement, waged war upon ceremonies; so much so that the Government or the authorities had often to step in and suppress in an orderly way such customs as had become offensive before they were

was the popular movement that was actively destructive: no one saw better than Erasmus the evils of the violence that this popular movement caused to the Reformation in Germany; he writes, "The factions in Germany are more fatal than the quarrels of kings, and I know not how it is, none hurt a good cause worse than those who think they are defending it. . . . The mass has been made a trade for illiterate and sordid priests, and a contrivance to quiet the conscience of reprobates. So the cry is raised 'Abolish the mass, put it away, make an end of it.' Is there no middle course? Cannot the mass be purified? Saint worship has been carried so far that Christ has been forgotten. Therefore, respect for saints is idolatry, and orders founded in their names must be dissolved. Why so violent a remedy? Too much has been made of rituals and vestments, but we might save, if we would, the useful part of such things. . . . But we must not hurt the corn in clearing out the tares, we must forget ourselves, and think first of Christ's glory, cease our recriminations, and regard all these calamities as a call to each of us to amend his own life¹".

attacked by the brutality of the mob. This was more especially the case in the matter of the removal of images; e.g., the riot on Good Friday, 1528, at Bâle (Hagenbach, *op. cit.* vol. ii. p. 66) of which we have Erasmus' account to Pirkheimer:—"Smiths and carpenters were sent to remove the images from the churches. The roods and the unfortunate saints were cruelly handled . . . not a statue was left in church, niche or monastery. The paintings on the walls were white-washed. Everything combustible was burnt, what would not burn was broken to pieces. Nothing was spared, however precious or beautiful, and mass was prohibited even in private houses." *Ep.* mxlviii: Froude, *Life and Letters of Erasmus*, p. 368.*

The tendency in England was just the contrary—the commons forcibly resisted any interference with their accustomed religious observances. Compare also in England the action later on, of the Westminster assembly (1643), where again there was no intention to abolish or destroy the Church. They did not see that their action would really lead to its destruction.

* The references to the Epistles of Erasmus are to the Leyden edition of his works, 1702: the translation is that of J. A. Froude in his *Life and Letters of Erasmus*, 1896.

¹ *Ep.* dcccxciv., to the Elector Hermann Archbishop of Cologne, March 18th, 1528, Froude, *op. cit.* p. 357, cf. *Ep.* dxii., Froude, *op. cit.* p. 344.

The whole method of the Reformation in England avoided the mistake of violent changes in doctrine and ceremonial. Apart from the fact that we were able to profit by the experience of the Church on the Continent, the true note of reform in England had already been struck. We had realized that any change we might make must be conducted through the constitutional action of our National Synods. The abolition of the Roman jurisdiction had not only failed to touch the existence of the Church's national administrative machinery, but it had rather restored it to fresh activity, however hampered it may have been from time to time by the revived royal supremacy. So when, during the latter years of Henry VIII's reign, we came to examine our doctrinal and ceremonial system, we proceeded constitutionally by degrees to prune away excrescences and excesses, and what was most important of all, to draw up, under authority, clear statements of Catholic doctrine¹ and intelligent explanations of that ceremonial system, which, however it may have become overlaid with abuses, had in it so much that was good.

III.

THE MEDIAEVAL DEVOTIONAL SYSTEM.

Before we glance at the attempts made to place our ceremonial system on an intelligible basis, it will be well to inquire what were the abuses which had gradually grown up round the entire mediaeval devotional system.

That system was not in itself bad, quite the reverse; it set up a very high ideal of Christian life, and its cere-

¹ As distinct from these, the Confessions of the various Reforming bodies on the Continent were not addressed to their own ecclesiastical parties, with a view to the regulation of what had before been unregulated or to suppressions of some erroneous tendency; but they were directed to a body external to the parties by which they were formulated—to the Roman Church or rather to the German Empire, that had called the upholders of the Evangelical Faith to account. In other words they are Apologies rather than Formularies.

monial rules, by prescribing outward actions as constant reminders that nothing we do in the natural life should be unaccompanied by something that will help our spiritual life, at least inculcated sound practical Christianity. But such a system must presuppose a devout Christian medium in which to work. It cannot be enforced on all alike without danger. Therefore, when the mediaeval Church endeavoured to make this system compulsory, and so brought it into relation with individual character, and with all the varying phases of social life, the great mass of which had not yet risen above the crudest materialistic notions, we can only wonder, that with a devotional system for the most part reduced to the merely material accessories of religion, there was so much true piety to be found throughout those many centuries of the intellectual infancy of Europe.

It was, then, in the method of its application that the mediaeval devotional system so largely failed. The mediaeval Church, one, authoritative, divine, claimed to exact an absolute abandonment and resignation into its hands of all human personality; the only supreme virtue and the condition precedent for salvation was submission to her orders; and the minute performance of the ceremonies which she prescribed was the expression and guarantee of that submission. By insisting that all must be devout in the way she laid down, the Church made of the ceremonial system a mere mechanical round of observances robbed of the ideal towards which the mere observance was intended to lead—the guiding of the will and the directing of the affections towards a spiritual object.

Therefore the whole system gradually came to mean to the mass of the Christian world, that God can be pleased by the material observances themselves,¹ and that

¹“I don’t find fault with the Sacraments and Rites of the Church, but rather highly approve of them; but I blame a wicked and superstitious sort of people or (to put it in the softest terms) the simple and unlearned persons who teach people to put their confidence in these things, omitting those things which make them truly Christian. . . . If you look into Christians in common, don’t you find that they live

He can or will only work a particular result for man, by or through some particular material object or prescribed observance. Soon penance took the place of Penitence; the repetition of many prayers to many different saints took the place of Prayer; mere attendance at, or payment for, numerous masses came to be nothing short of a "substitution of spiritual processes conducted by others"¹ for the application of grace to the individual soul.² The very vestments or ornaments used in the mass came to be considered in themselves, if not essentials, at least of far greater importance than the physical state or mental attitude of the priest.³ The actual taking part in a

as if the whole sum of religion consisted in Ceremonies? . . . Now I approve of the doing of all this well enough, but the doing of them more out of custom than conscience, I don't approve; but to think that nothing else is requisite for the making of a Christian I absolutely disapprove" (Erasmus, *Dialogues*, "The Religious Feast.").

¹ R. Lane Poole, *History of Mediaeval Thought*, p. 31.

² "*Erasmus*. There are some who can't believe themselves to be Christians unless they hear mass (as they call it) every day. *Gasper*. Indeed I don't condemn the practice in those that have time enough and spend whole days in profane exercises; but I only disapprove of those who superstitiously only fancy that that day must needs be unfortunate to them that they have not begun with the mass: and presently, after divine service is over they go either to trading, gaming, or the Court, where whatsoever succeeds, though justly done or unjustly, they attribute to the mass. *Erasmus*. Are there any persons that are so absurd? *Gasper*. The greatest part of mankind." (Erasmus, *Dialogues*, "The Child's Piety.")

³ "Now partly from superstition, partly from avarice, the saying of masses has become a trade, like shoemaking or bricklaying—a mere means of making a livelihood. And again, some attention should be paid to the priest's character; dress and office are not enough, the life must answer to the function. Nowadays when the celebration is over, the man who has offered the sacrifice adjourns to drinking parties and loose talk, or to cards or dice, or goes hunting or lounges in idleness. While he is at the altar, angels wait upon him: when he leaves it, he seeks the refuse of mankind. It is not decent. Priests should not by their loose living teach heretics to despise the ineffable mystery" (Erasmus, *Epist.*, mxcv. To the Bishop of Hildesheim, March 15th, 1530. Froude, *op. cit.* p. 386.).

pilgrimage to Rome, Jerusalem, or Compostella, was in itself considered a work of piety quite apart from any real devotional intent. The whole trust was placed in an elaborately organised and tabulated system.¹ Ceremonialism had become to the devout observance of the practices of religion what scholasticism had been to the devout study of the Faith.

What wonder, then, that in Germany, where the intellectual revival of the Renaissance was more especially marked by an upheaval of individual rights against existing systems, and where the belief of the mass of the people was that all social reform was inextricably bound up with religious reform—what wonder that the existing systems of doctrine and ceremonial were swept away?

And yet it must be remembered that it is the bad that comes to the surface—the good goes on working unnoticed through it all; so even Erasmus is fain to admit much that is good in the devotional life of his time amongst pious observers of the existing ceremonies who recognize in them not an end, but the means to an end.²

¹ It was the insistence on the externals of religion and their frequent repetition without the bending of the will towards the pious significance of the external acts that gave rise to that familiarity which produces contempt. "Sacred things are not derided, but they are with an earnest mien exposed to ridicule." This kind of frivolity was rife at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and nowhere more apparent than in the ceremonies and mummeries practised in the churches, and in the way they were regarded by the mass of the people. The step from frivolity to superstition, and from superstition to unbelief, is short. (cf. Hagenbach, *History of the Reformation*, vol. i. pp. 36-8).

² See Erasmus, *Dialogues*. In "The Child's Piety," and even in connexion with that most fruitful source of abuses—the going on Pilgrimages, in the "Dialogue of the Young Man and the Harlot," Erasmus acknowledges that the intent being good the effect may be good also. "*Lucretia*. . . . I hear you have been to Rome. *Sophronius*. I have so. *Lucretia*. Well, but other people use to come from thence worse than they went. How comes it about it is otherwise with you? *Sophronius*. I'll tell you, because I did not go to Rome with the same intent, and after the same manner as others do. Others commonly go to Rome, on purpose to come home worse, and there they meet with a great many opportunities of becoming so. I went along with an honest man by whose advice I took along with me a book instead of a bottle: the New Testament with Erasmus' *Paraphrase*."

IV.

THE POPULAR FEELING IN ENGLAND IN FAVOUR OF THE
OLD SYSTEM

In England, up to the end of Henry VIII's reign, the outlook was brighter than in Germany. The people were better conditioned; they had suffered from the exactions of the Papal Curia severely enough, but their more elastic temperament prevented them from being unduly depressed, and behind them there was always the consciousness of a Church which had never tamely acquiesced in the usurpations of the Papacy. Again, there was no great social upheaval pending as in Germany, and so no temptation to use religious reform as a lever to promote a social revolution. If, in England, there was a tendency to acquiesce in the easy-going system of mere external religious observances, there was on the other hand, no desire amongst the people to uproot the doctrinal and ceremonial system of the Church. Indeed, the people seem to have been sincerely attached to the existing state of things (apart from gross administrative abuses), and during the first forty years of the sixteenth century, a distinct "revival of church life" is apparent; and, it is even of greater importance to notice in connexion with the subject before us, that together with this revival, there was growing up a devotional literature imbued with thoroughly sound notions as to the true value of ceremonial. It was distinctly recognised in this literature, and by good men¹ both in Church and State, that there were many things in the ceremonial system which needed revision. It was felt that much was stereotyped and

¹e.g. "in April, 1535, Robert Ward was charged with having preached from 1. Cor. v. and exhorted . . . to cleanse out the leaven of ignorance about the ceremonies of the Church, reproving the opinion of a friar who preached that holy water washed away venial sin, which was superstition, and a robbery of the honour of Christ's blood: to declare to their parishioners what the Sacraments signified and to be as good in ministering them, as in serving citations, etc. which they always explained in English" (*Letters and Papers Henry VIII*, vol. viii, no. 625.).

formal, that there was a great excess of observances, and that existing faults were largely owing to the entire ignorance of the meaning of ceremonies. The aim, then, is distinctly seen to be to cut down the excessive number of observances, and, by guarding against formalism, and explaining the true significance of such as were retained, to give fresh vigour to the devotional life. Yet it was no easy task to reform the popular religious observances of the day; the work had to proceed by degrees, and even then it met with serious opposition. It touched the mass of the people in their everyday life¹. For instance, the first attempt towards the reformation of religious observances was in the direction of decreasing the number of saints' days and holy days. This affected the craft and religious guilds² throughout the country, and was as unpopular in the towns as the suppression of the monasteries

¹ It must be remembered that the history of the Church in the Middle Ages is the history of civilization during the same period: therefore it is that religion is not a mere affair of State, or the province of a special priestly caste, but the heritage of the People which at once created for them the greatest of ideals and consecrated all their lesser aspirations after higher aims (Cf. Hagenbach, *History of the Reformation*, vol. i. p. 7).

² The resulting decay of the guilds led to injury to many charitable institutions, e.g. Bp. Latimer writes to Crumwell on Oct. 6th 1538 complaining of the poverty of the School at Worcester. The school has heretofore been maintained by a guild "not without some guile popishly pardoning and therefore now worthily decayed." Latimer is obliged now, poor as he is, to maintain the schoolmaster, and he asks for help (*Letters and Papers, Henry VIII*, vol. xiii. pt. ii. no. 543). The guilds took quite the other side on the Continent, e.g. it was five burghers of the Spinners' Guild who at Bâle without the knowledge of Oecolampadius broke in pieces the altars and images of St. Martin's (the Church of Oecolampadius) and on the following Easter Monday (1528) twenty-four burghers removed the images from the Church of the Augustines. The authorities arrested the iconoclasts, a proceeding which excited great indignation among their comrades of the Spinners' Guild. Compare the account of the religious riots at Bâle given by Erasmus in his letter to Pirkheimer, *Ep.* mxlviii, as showing the attitude of the populace, with the account in his *Ecclesiastes* of the way the religious ceremonies were kept up amongst the people in the towns and villages of England. (Jortin's *Life of Erasmus* vol. ii. pp. 189-94.).

had been in the country districts. In truth, however obviously necessary the carrying out of certain reforms was seen to be, we can no more distinguish any signs of a popular demand for a reformation in doctrine and ceremonial at the beginning of the sixteenth century than at any time during the preceding two hundred years.

However, to some extent the old system had begun gradually to adjust itself to the new ideas of the age, and, so far as England was concerned, it might have appeared at one time reasonable to hope that this adjustment would soon be finished, as it had been begun, without any violent upheaval. The right impetus, however, was lacking, especially amongst the clergy. No initiative could be expected from them, and so it happened that, with a servile House of Commons and docile Houses of Convocation, the direction of ecclesiastical reform was largely left in the hands of the civil power, or, in effect, of the Crown.

Yet in the realm of doctrine¹ and ceremonial much was left to the Church, and while Parliament in 1529 was passing Acts concerning Probates, Mortuaries, Pluralities, and non-Residence, Convocation² was equally active in

¹The proceedings against heresy were the outcome of the mandate against unauthorized translations of the Scriptures put out on Nov. the 3rd, 1526; see Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii. 706 "Mandatum ad inquirendum de libris Nov. Test. in lingua vulgari editis." This has a list of prohibited books at the end; some being commentaries on portions of the Holy Scriptures. Again in March 1528 there were proceedings for heresy against certain persons under this mandate, but charges other than having, reading, or circulating heretical books were alleged, e.g. the assertion that worshipping of images, offering and going on pilgrimages, was nought; that it was folly to go on pilgrimages, for saints be but stocks and stones and cannot speak to a man, nor do him any good, and that it is no good to pray to saints, for they are but servants and can hear no man's prayer; that men should not set lights before images: that God made no holy days but Sunday, and no man can make others (*Letters and Papers Henry VIII*, vol. iv. pt. ii. nos. 4029, and 4030); and that praying in churches and the ceremonies of the Church were bad, and that prayers ought only to be in secret (Ib., no. 4444, June, 1528).

²"Convocatio praelatorum et cleri provinciae Cant. in ecclesia S. Pauli London 5 die mensis Novembris inchoata," i.e. 1529, (see Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii. 717 et seq.).

suppressing heretical books, printed on the Continent and circulated in England, which attacked the doctrinal system of the Church.

V.

ATTEMPTS TO MODIFY THE OLD SYSTEM BY MEANS OF AUTHORITATIVE DECLARATIONS.

The common aim both of Church and State was to keep doctrine and ceremonial free from foreign influence, and the King himself was eager to exclude foreign doctrinal and ceremonial innovations. Indeed, in the following year (1530), a commission appointed by the Crown included amongst many heretical passages in such books several which endeavoured to throw contempt on the ceremonial of the Church¹.

¹ "A public Instrument made A.C. MDXXX, May 24, in an assembly of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Durham, and others, by Order of King Henry VIII, containing divers heretical and erroneous opinions considered and condemned." This document gives extracts from the heretical books condemned. There are two passages dealing with ceremonies: they are as follows—"Cerymonyes of the Churche hath brought the worlde from God" (Tyndale, *The Wicked Mammon*). "If the Pope wolde make all the observation of cerymonyes as Lent, fasting, holydaies, confession, matrymony, masse, matens, and relequies etc. free and indifferente, he shuld not be anticriste, but now because he commandeth it in the name of Criste, he doth utterly corrupte the churche, suppresses the faith and advance synne" (*The Revelation of Anticriste*; see Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii. 727-37). Preachers were to denounce these heretical books from the pulpit, but this did not prevent Latimer from telling the king that "the People were blinded with customs, ceremonies and Banbury glosses." This document was followed by (i) "A proclamation for resisting and withstanding of most damnable heresies sown within this realm by the disciples of Luther and other heretics, perverters of Christ's religion" (Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii. 737—A list of prohibited books is attached to this), and by (ii) "A proclamation against erroneous books and heresies, and against translating the Bible in English, French and Dutch anno reg. H. viii. xxii" (Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii. 740). These three documents are the outcome of the Statutes and Ordinances of the Convocation assembled on Nov. 24th, 1529. Compare also the king's proclamation to bring in Seditious Books, 1534 (Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii. 776).

In 1532 we have the "Supplication of the Commons against the Ordinaries."¹ This was the formal opening of the great parliamentary campaign against the Church. The Parliament of 1529 had been summoned for the purpose of ecclesiastical legislation and care had been taken that it consisted of members who would carry out the King's wishes ; as Burnet quaintly puts it, "there had been great industry used in carrying elections." It was filled with animosity against the clergy and that animosity was increased by the action of the Spiritual Peers, in bringing to naught the bills for abolishing abuses and for the reform of the Church Courts which were sent up to them by the Commons. The clergy in Convocation made a spirited defence during the opening skirmishes. But it was the king himself who played the chief part in the first session of this Parliament. It was the Supreme Head who by threats of the penalties of the Statutes of Praemunire and Provisors broke the power of the clergy and left them to be 'reformed' by the Commons, who, secure in the King's support, proceeded to that task with no little zest. No direct ecclesiastical legislation had been effected in the first session, and the Commons when they took over the fighting from the king in 1532 opened with the Supplication of the Commons against the Ordinaries which summarized the previous disputes by making a direct attack on the right of the clergy to make spiritual laws in Convocation, without the assent of the king, or any of the laity, and then went on at great length to detail the various abuses which were said to exist in the Church. One of the clauses of this document draws attention to "the fantastical and erroneous opinions grown by occasion of frantic seditious books . . . contrary and against the very true Catholic and Christian faith," and another passage is to the effect that "a great number of holy days now at this present time, with very small devotion, be solemnized and kept throughout this your realm, upon the which many great, abominable, and execrable vices, idle and wanton

¹ The fault found by the Commons with the Ordinaries was that they did not go the right way to work to suppress heresies, not that they were remiss in doing so.

sports, be used and exercised,¹ which holy days, if it may stand with your Grace's pleasure, and especially such as fall in the harvest, might by your Majesty, with the advice of your most honourable council, prelates, and ordinaries, be made fewer in number, and those that shall be hereafter ordained to stand and continue, might and may be the more devoutly, religiously, and reverently observed to the laud of Almighty God, and the increase of your high honour and favour."

Between 1532 and 1536 we hear scarcely anything of the reformation of ceremonies.² Indeed, the whole time of King, Convocation, and Parliament was taken up with the "king's business," the submission of the clergy, and the breaking with the Roman jurisdiction. Meanwhile, when all good men were conscious that "the ever growing rigidity of mediaeval formalism was becoming unendurable,"³ it is not astonishing to find an imprudent and zealous

¹ See the account given by Erasmus in his *Ecclesiastes* of the custom of offering the head of a deer on the high altar at St. Paul's on the Feast of the Conversion of St. Paul (Jortin's *Life of Erasmus*, vol. ii. p. 189).

² The matter, however, had not been lost sight of; this is evident by some "remembrances" of Crumwell that have been preserved; in August, 1534, he notes "How the false heresies which the Bishop of Rome hath taught the people should be brought out of their conscience and heart." Pamphlets against the enforced celibacy of the clergy, honouring of images and prayers for the dead to be printed before Parliament begins. Bills to be drawn against the next Parliament (i) Allowing Priests to marry and to work for their living, (ii) Prohibiting on a Penalty of £10 all offerings to Images. (*Letters and Papers Henry VIII*, vol. vii. no. 1043.) Again Crumwell writes "Things necessary as it seemeth to be remembered before the breaking up of the Parliament . . . Things which have confessedly been abused in times past should be either plainly confirmed or prohibited. Men should be prohibited from holding opinions contrary to the determination of Parliament, e.g. that there is no Purgatory . . . that it is more charitable and necessary to pray for the living than the dead . . . that images are not to be worshipped" (*Letters and Papers Henry VIII*, vol. vii. no. 1383).

³ Collins, *The English Reformation*, Church Historical Society Publication no. xxxvi-xxxix p. 10.

preacher like Latimer inveighing with the early Gospellers against abuses and superstitions, false miracles and worship of saints, too many pilgrimages, too much observance of the Pope's laws, and the mere mummeries which defaced religion.¹ Latimer was discreetly dealt with by Convocation, but if he moderated his language for a time² he showed he was not to be suppressed when he preached the Latin sermon before Convocation on June 9, 1536.³ Convocation was no longer in a position to deal with Latimer. Much had happened since 1532. The liberties of the clergy had been sapped, the Roman jurisdiction overthrown, the religious orders were being suppressed, and Crumwell and Cranmer were now the trusted advisers of the king. The revolution in property had been accomplished, the reformation in religion was now to be proceeded with.

One matter, at any rate, which was in the direction of a true reformation had come clearly into light, since the abolition of the Roman jurisdiction. The great tyranny of

¹ Dixon, *History of the Church of England*, vol. i. p. 118.

² See (i) a letter from Ric. Clotton to Mr. Fowler, Feb. 20, 1535 (*Letters and Papers, Henry VIII*, vol. viii. no. 253), and (ii) A letter from Lord Lisle to Crumwell, Feb. 27. (*Ibid.* no. 279). Both say that Latimer had turned over a new leaf, and on Wednesday in Ember week preached before the king acknowledging the Pope's authority and approving prayers to saints, and pilgrimages. Lord Lisle writes to know whether this is true. Clotton states it in fuller terms, but does not say that he was present at the sermon, and the similar language used by both looks as if they derived their information from one and the same source.

³ "What of ceremonies, were not many of them so defiled and depraved that it was doubtful whether it were better to take them away or to let some tarry still? What of holidays? There were so many of them that it interfered with the sustenance of the poor. . . . What of images, pilgrimages, and relics? Was there not a superstitious difference put between one image and another, and the further away the higher esteemed. . . . As to relics the case was somewhat different; when you went to an image, you knew that you were going to a mere image and nothing more, but in relics you might be deceived, and for the relics of a saint you might touch with veneration the relics of a pig. What of matrimony? Was Baptism always to be said in Latin? What of mass priests, and the sale of masses" (Latimer's *Sermons*, lv. Parker Society; and see Dixon, *op. cit.*, vol. i. p. 402).

Rome had been "to make all dogmas equally binding, to abolish the distinction between an article of faith and a thing indifferent."¹ One of the objects of the new policy was to draw attention to this confusion and to endeavour to restore that distinction. The method adopted was for the paramount power to put forward formularies of faith and ceremonial²; but in order to preserve at least the semblance of constitutional action these formularies were to be drawn up by Committees of the Bishops appointed in Convocation by the King's command. So the King in his address to Convocation in 1536, through his vicar-general, expresses his wishes as follows: "For although his special desire is to set a stay for the unlearned people, whose consciences are in doubt what they may believe, and he himself by his excellent learning knoweth these controversies well enough, yet he will suffer no common alteration but by the consent of you and of his whole Parliament."³ The great body of the clergy had not, however, yet recognized the distinction between an article of faith and a thing indifferent; we may gauge their confusion of mind by the

¹ Dixon *op. cit.*, vol. i. p. 168. Compare Starkey's expostulation to Pole (1536) "To think that the consent of the Church makes things necessary to salvation is marvellous madness. For hereby you might confirm all the rites and ceremonies which the Church has held for a thousand years, or more, by common consent, to be necessary to salvation, and the alteration of any of them to be seperation from the unity of the Church" (Dixon, *op. cit.*, vol. i. p. 442).

² All this attempt to set up an imposing uniformity in religious affairs by means of authoritative enactments is only another instance—so far as the later history of the Church of England is concerned—of the truth of the view, as old as Aristotle, that such an imposing uniformity, if achieved at all, is sure to be achieved only at the expense of true unity.

³ Blunt's *History of the Reformation*, vol. i. p. 434. Compare Starkey's letter to Pole, Feb. 15, 1535: ". . . For although the king has withdrawn himself from the Pope's authority, he has in no point slid from the certain and sure ground of Scripture, nor yet from the laws and ceremonies of the Church which yet stand in full strength and authority" (*Letters and Papers Henry VIII*, vol. viii. no. 218), and compare Crumwell's speech at the opening of the National Synod of 1537 (Joyce's *Sacred Synods*, p. 388).

document known as the "Protestation of the Clergy," sent up by the Lower House of Convocation in June, 1536.¹ It enumerates errors and abuses which have been and now are within this realm causes of dissension worthy of special reformation. But the difference in importance between heretical teaching concerning the doctrine of the sacraments and holy orders is in no way distinguished, in the stress laid upon it, from similiar erroneous teaching on questions connected with ceremonial.²

This Protestation is valuable rather as showing how active were the propagators of the new ideas, and how unsuccessful the authorities had been both in suppressing them and in checking the circulation of heretical books already condemned by Convocation, than as pointing to any general spread of continental protestantism among the people. The Protestation met with scant notice at the hands of Crumwell and the Upper House of Convocation. But it may not have been without its influence on the drafting of the "Ten Articles;" for the clergy on the one hand and the King with Crumwell on the other, were bent on showing that in no way had the Ancient Faith of England been impaired. The "Ten Articles" were designed, not so much to gratify any desire on the King's part to imitate the Continental Reforms in putting forth confessions of Faith, as to demonstrate to the Catholic world that notwithstanding all that had happened in England, the Church of England had preserved her unity and her faith, and that she still remained within the pale of Catholicity.

These "Ten Articles" were the first of the authorized formularies of the English Church. They dealt with the

¹ Brewer's *Fuller*, iii. 127.

² For a similar state of things on the Continent, compare "Les tenants des vieilles méthodes confondront avec le dogme tout l'appareil scolastique, et traiteront également d'hérétiques ceux qui nieront la présence réelle de Jésus-Christ dans l'Eucharistie, et ceux qui trouveront des erreurs dans la Vulgate" (Paquier, *Jérôme Aléandre*, pp. 51-2).

principal points raised in the "Protestation of the Clergy,"¹ but by dividing the subject-matter into two distinct parts, the confusion noticeable in the earlier document is avoided.

In the preface the King states that he has caused the clergy and most learned men in Convocation assembled to draw up these articles "being credibly advertised of such diversity in opinions, as have grown and sprung in this realm, as well concerning certain articles necessary to our salvation, as also touching certain other honest and commendable ceremonies, rites, and usages, now of long time used and accustomed in our churches for conservation of an honest policy and decent and seemly order." And again, "We have caused the said articles to be divided into two sorts: whereof the one part containeth such as be commanded expressly by God and be necessary to salvation; and the other containeth such things as have been of long continuance for a decent order and honest policy, and to be . . . observed . . . although they be not expressly commanded of God nor necessary to our salvation."

The second part deals with images², honouring saints,

¹ And were drawn up in the same Convocation, "Convocatio praelatorum et cleri provinciae Cantuar, ad ultimum diem Martii continuata, et post dissolutionem rursus inchoata. . . . Post varias deinde prorogationes, in quibus nihil erat gestum, 11 die Julii Edwardus Episcopus Hereford. produxit quendam libellum continentem articulos fidei et ceremoniarum; quo lecto per eundem episcopum, dom. Tho. Crumwell, reverendissimus, et alii praelati, prolocutor et clerus domus inferioris eundem libellum approbando subscripserunt" (Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii. 803). The Bishop of Hereford was Edward Fox; he died in Nov. 1538.

² Lloyd's *Formularies of Faith put forth during the reign of Henry VIII.* (ed. Oxon., 1825) pp. xv, xvi.

³ Something seems to have been agitated against images before "The Ten Articles" appeared: Chapuys writes to Granvelle, Sept. 13, 1535 "... A book against images has lately been printed with royal licence. It also is directed against mass and canonical hours. There is a report that the king intends the religious of all orders to be free to leave their habit and marry, and that if they will stay in their houses they must live in poverty" (*Letters and Papers Henry VIII*, vol. ix. no. 357). Under the same date Lord Chancellor Audeley writes to Crumwell "... Sends a book, lately printed, touching taking away Images. In parts where he had been (Old Forde beside Stratford) there has been some discord and diversity of opinion, touching

praying to saints, rites and ceremonies, purgatory, and is drawn up in much the same spirit as the *Rationale* of 1540-43, and, just as in the later document, but in shorter form, explanations and reasons are carefully given for the ceremonies that are retained. Convocation also proceeded to abrogate superfluous holidays, the plan adopted being that the clergy were to pass over the abrogated saints' days so that they might drop out of use¹.

The clergy were commanded to read the "Ten Articles," to the people without any alterations; and by further injunctions² issued during the same year by the vicar-

worshipping of saints and images, creeping at cross, and such ceremonies, which discord it were well to put to silence. This book will make much business if it should go forth. Intends to send for the printers to stop them. It were good that preachers and people abstained from opinions of such things until the King has put out a final order by the report of those appointed for searching and ordering the laws of the Church. A proclamation to abstain until that time would do much good" (*Letters and Papers Henry VIII*, vol. ix. no. 358).

¹ See the ordinance in Wilkins, *Concilia*, vol. iii. p. 823. It is worth while to note that no intention was expressed to abrogate the services to be said in the churches on those holy days: "Provided always that it may be lawful unto all priests and clerks, as well secular, as regular, in the foresaid holidays now abrogate, to sing or say their accustomed service for those holy days in their churches; so that they do not the same solemnly, nor do ring to the same after the manner used in high holidays, nor do command or indict the same to be kept or observed as holidays" (Ibid. p. 824. Dixon, *op. cit.*, i. 424-5). The date of this ordinance was Aug. 11, 1536. On Sept. 5, in respect to this matter, Dr. J. Tregonwell writes to Crumwell from the West country saying every one is ready to obey the king's injunctions and orders (*Letters and Papers Henry VIII*, vol. xi. no. 405). But on Sept. 30, Sir Henry Parker writes to Crumwell that, contrary to the king's injunctions for the abrogation of superstitious holy days, the curates and sextons of Stordford and little Hadam kept "high and solemn with ringing and singing Holy Rood Day last in so much that there was like to have been much dissension between them and those who went to their bodily labour" (*Letters and Papers Henry VIII*, vol. xi. no. 514).

² Crumwell's Injunctions enforcing the Ten Articles. See Collier's *Ecclesiastical History of Great Britain*, vol. iv. p. 364; Dixon

general in the King's name, the duties inculcated on them in the Ten Articles, and in the ordinance abrogating superfluous holidays, were further enforced.

The year ended up with serious insurrections in the North; and the demands of the people in the disturbed districts plainly show their antipathy to the new movement which was being enforced by the King's representatives throughout the country. Together with the more material grievances connected with the abolition of enclosures and questions of taxation, the petitioners do not omit to demand restoration of the monastic orders, the suppression of heretical books, and the punishment of Crumwell and his crew as "subverters of the good laws of this realm and maintainers of the false sect of these heretics, and

op. cit., vol. i. p. 444. "That in the articles lately set forth by the king's highness and agreed to by the prelates and clergy in convocation, some things are points of faith and necessary to be believed, whereas others are of a lower class and relate to certain commendable rites and ceremonies, instituted only for the sake of decency and order, and for the more solemn performance of divine service, the said dean, parsons, etc., are to range these articles under their proper distinctions and instruct their audience in the respective necessity, quality and usefulness of them." This was directed to the deans. Henry VIII sent the Injunctions with a letter to the bishops. The letter is dated Nov. 19. 1536, and alludes to contrariety of preaching which has produced diversity of opinion amongst the people "whereby there ensued contention among them which was only engendered by a certain contemptuous manner of speaking against honest laudable and tolerable ceremonies, usages and customs of the Church." Therefore the bishops are admonished "to preach God's word sincerely to declare abuses plainly and in no wise contentiously to treat of matters indifferent which be neither necessary to our salvation, as the good and virtuous ceremonies of holy church, nor yet to be in any wise contemned and abrogated, for that they be incitements and motions to virtue, and allurements to devotion." The bishops are to "commend and praise honest ceremonies of the Church as they be to be praised, in such plain and reverend sort that the people may perceive they be not contemned and yet learn how they were instituted and how they ought to be observed and esteemed, using such a temperance therein as our said people be not corrupted by putting overmuch affiance in them, which apart should more offend than the clear silencing of the same." This letter was dispatched at the time of the disturbances in the North. (Wilkins, *Concilia*, vol. iii. p. 825.).

first inventors and bringers in of them¹." Their leader, Robert Aske stated in his declaration before the gates of Pomfret, as one of the griefs of the commons, that "The lords spiritual have not done their duty in that they have not been plain with the king for the speedy remedy and punishment of heresy and the preachers thereof, for the taking the ornaments of the churches and abbeys suppressed, and the violating of relics by the suppressors, the irreverent demeanour of the doers thereof, the abuse of the vestments taken, &c."² The

¹The contrast between the carrying out of the Reformation in England and on the continent is nowhere better illustrated than here. Karlstadt at Wittenberg, Munzer in Franconia, and Hetzer at Zürich had only to give the word and the people rose in insurrection to abolish the mass, destroy the images, &c., and the authorities had to exert all their powers to restore order. Magdeburg, Weimar, Rostock, Stettin, and Danzig expelled monks and priests and appointed Lutheran pastors. Even in Scotland, later on, it was the "rascal multitude" that wrecked the churches at Perth. In England it is just this rabble, the Lincolnshire and Yorkshire commons, who would fight to the death to prevent desecration, who wished heresy stamped out, and demanded the restoration of the monks. In the mountain districts of Switzerland alone do we find any parallel to the course of feeling in England. There too, where great historical and patriotic reminiscences had grown into most intimate connexion with the faith of the people, great indignation was felt at the abolition of pilgrimages, the general whitewashing of churches, though not then altogether a new expedient, and other material atrocities of the "Reformation" (see Hagenbach, *op. cit.* vol. i. p. 344).

²Dixon *op. cit.* vol. i. p. 463 quoting from Froude vol. iii. p. 136. For the intimate connexion of the Pilgrimage of Grace with religious questions, see (i) Letter of Sir M. Constable to Crumwell, Oct. 5, 1536: he says of the rebels, "Their petition is for pardon, and that they may keep holydays, etc. as before, that suppressed religious houses may stand, and that they be no more taxed; they would also fain have you" (*Letters and Papers Henry VIII*, vol. xi. no. 553). (ii) Letter of Oct. 3rd from Robert Tyrwhyt to the King, concerning levying his second subsidy, says, "20,000 of your true and faithful subjects assembled because the report went that all jewels and goods of the churches were to be taken away to your Grace's Council" (*Ibid.*, no. 534). As an answer to this the king writes to the commissioners for the subsidy "as to the taking away of the goods of the parish churches, it was never intended" (*Ibid.*, no. 569) (iii) As to the impression made upon the foreign

King sent copies of the Ten "Articles to Establish Christian Quietness," to be distributed in the disturbed districts¹. At the same time (19 Nov. 1536) he sent a letter to the bishops², in which he finds fault with them for not plainly and directly declaring his articles, and consider-

ambassadors, see Chapuys' letters of Oct. 8th and 14th, 1536. He represents the rising as being against the king's commissioners who levied the taxes lately imposed by Parliament and put down the abbeys, and he adds that the rebels declare they will not consent to the demolition of the churches (Ibid., nos. 597, 698). (iv) More especially the demands of the rebels themselves, e.g. Fitzwilliam writes to Lord Chancellor Audeley "that the commons of Lincolnshire resolved to proceed in rebellion for certain reforms they desire: (a) Church of England shall have its old accustomed privileges 'without any exactions:' (b) Suppressed houses of religion to be restored 'except such houses as the king hath suppressed for his own pleasure only:' (c) to have Bishops of Canterbury and Rochester, Bishop Latimer, the Bishops of Lincoln and Ely and others and My Lord Privy Seal, the Master of the Rolls and the Chancellor of the Augmentations delivered up to them or else banished the Realm: (d) King shall not now or hereafter demand any money of his subjects except for defence of the realm in time of war: Oct. 7, 1536 (*Letters and Papers Henry VIII*, vol. ix. no. 585). So the Yorkshire rebels demand (Ibid., no. 705) (a) Restitution of religious houses; (b) Repeal of Statute of Uses; (c) Refuse to pay taxes levied; (d) Base councillors about the king to be dismissed; (e) Complain of certain Bishops especially of Bishop of Lincoln who was the beginning of all this trouble. The Proclamation of Robert Aske, "denies that they have assembled on account of impositions laid on them, but because evil disposed persons in the king's council intend to destroy the church and rob the whole body of the realm. Whether this be true we put to your conscience, and if you fight against us and win you put both us and you and your heirs and ours in bondage for ever. Therefore if you will not come with us we will fight against you and all who stop us." Then follow the articles as above (*R. O. State Papers*, vol. i. p. 466). (v) The oath taken by the insurgents, "Ye shall not enter to this our pilgrimage of grace for the Commonwealth, but only for the maintenance of God's Faith and Church militant; preservation of the king's person and issue and purifying the nobility of all villain blood and evil councillors to the restitution of Christ's Church and suppression of heretics' opinions by the holy contents of this book."

¹ Dixon *op. cit.* vol. i. p. 467.

² See above, p. xxix, n. 2. This letter of the King to the Bishops from MS. Cleop. E. v, is printed in Pocock's *Burnet*, vol. iv. p. 396.

ing the offence occasioned to his people, "by the fond and contentious manner of speaking that (certain) light personages do still use against the honest rites, customs, usages and ceremonial things of the church;" he enjoins them to "travel from place to place as you commodiously can, and every holiday make a collation to the people" declaring "the obedience which they owe to their prince" whose commandment "they ought not to resist though it were unjust," and also commending and explaining "the honest ceremonies of the Church." The bishops were further enjoined to threaten their clergy with deprivation if they should offend in the matter of "the indifferent praise of ceremonial." Taking the Protestation of the rebels together with the Articles of the Northern House of Convocation¹ held at Pomfret, in which preaching against purgatory, saints' pilgrimages and images was condemned, and which affirmed that holidays, bidding of beads, and preaching were ordered to be observed according to the laudable customs of the Church, while it was declared that no temporal man could be supreme head of the Church; it is plain that the rebels would take nothing short of an entire maintenance of the old order; while it is equally obvious that the King was determined to have his will in the matters contained in the Ten Articles. Such a dispute could not be settled by Injunctions and Proclamations, and the insurrection had eventually to be crushed by sterner methods (1537).

The Ten Articles, as a means of promoting uniformity of religion, and ceremonial observances, do not seem to have been a success; and in 1537 the King's wish was conveyed to the National Synod by Crumwell, that they should proceed to draw up a more elaborate treatise. The result was the book known as *The Institution of a Christian Man*². This important document claimed to "set forth a plain and sincere doctrine, concerning the whole sum of all

¹ Dixon *op. cit.*, vol. i. p. 473.

² See Cranmer's letter to Crumwell, July 21st 1537. (Jenkyns' *Cranmer*, vol. i. pp. 187-9.).

those things which appertain unto the profession of a Christian man, that by the same all errors, doubts, superstitions, and abuses might be suppressed, removed, and utterly taken away." Everything contained in the previous Ten Articles is embodied in it, its framers asserting that "we would omit nothing contained in the book of Articles devised and set forth this last year by your highness's like commandment." The *Institution*, however, differed from the Ten Articles in not keeping questions of doctrine separate from those of ceremonial, a distinction which was really of great importances and was again reverted to when the *Institution* was revised and became "*A Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man*," and the *Rationale* of Ceremonial was drawn up. In the *Institution* all that concerns Ceremonies is embodied in the various expositions of the Common Creed, the Seven Sacraments, the Ten Commandments, and the Pater Noster.

The king does not seem to have been altogether pleased with the new Confession; nor was it regarded by him as permanent; he evidently intended that it should be thoroughly revised before it was put out by royal authority¹. "As it was neither passed by Convocation nor by Parliament, it had no other authority than could be given by the names of those who signed it and by being printed at the king's press."²

These proclamations, injunctions, and confessions of faith

¹e.g. the time during which it was to be read every Sunday was limited to three years (vide Dixon *op. cit.*, vol. i. p. 528.) See also the minute of an answer of Henry viii to a letter from the Commissioners prefixed to the *Institution of a Christian Man*. "Ye command the said book, or some convenient part thereof, may every Sunday and any other festival day be at the least read unto our people in every parish church and other ecclesiastical place within the realm, by the curates of the same, continually by the space of three whole years now next to come." (*Cranmer's Works*, Parker Society, (Letters), Vol. II. p. 469. *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII. Vol. xii. ii. f. 618.*) In the end the king would not allow this minute to appear with the Commissioners' Letter, but it represented his understanding with them, and Crumwell acted upon it, bringing forward his new scheme in 1540 when the three years had expired.

²Dixon *op. cit.*, vol. i. p. 529.

by authority, could not have succeeded in producing any effect except that of making confusion worse confounded. On the one hand was the King, with Crumwell as his vicar-General, lecturing bishops and clergy for not having expounded the teaching of the Ten Articles; on the other hand there was the popular demand for maintaining the old order of things and the cry that the bishops had been talked over by the King. Again, there were the Gospellers—we may almost say with Latimer at their head—spreading doubts as to doctrines and ceremonies¹, whilst perambulating the country at the same time were Crumwell's assistants, destroying monasteries, breaking images, and carrying away vestments and sacred ornaments—so uprooting those very same 'honest ceremonies' of which the King's wish was that they should be retained.

It must have been more especially with regard to these ceremonies and religious observances that confusion was inevitable, owing to the great difficulty in making it understood that, though most of them were to be retained, it was with some other significance than that which had made them popular². Indeed, none of the documents put out

¹ Compare the king's proclamation for uniformity in religion, 1536 (Wilkins, *Concilia*, vol. iii. p. 810): "The king's most royal majesty hath been informed that great murmurs malice and malignity is risen and sprung among divers and sundry of his subjects by diversities of opinions, some of them minding craftily by their preachings and teachings to restore into this realm the old devotion of the usurped power of the Bishop of Rome, the hypocrite religion, superstitious pilgrimages, idolatry and other evil and naughty ceremonies and dreams, justly and lawfully abolished and taken away by authority of God's word, and to allure the people again to the same. And some other, taking and gathering divers holy scriptures to contrary senses and understanding, do so wrest and interpret and so untruly allege the same to subvert and overturn as well the sacraments of holy church as the power and authority of princes and magistrates, and in effect generally all laws and common justice and the good and laudable ordinances and ceremonies necessary and convenient to be used and continued in this realm, which were ordained for the increase and edifying of virtue and good Christian living."

² The maintenance of anything in the old system as against the new formularies or rather the interpretation of the new formularies in a manner not acceptable to Cranmer and Crumwell was frequently met by an accusation of *papist*—maintaining the Bishop of Rome against the king (see Jenkins' *Cranmer*, vol. i. pp. 206-22 and Foxe, *Acts, etc.* Vol. III. p. 645, ed. 1849)

with authority had as yet attempted to explain what that old significance was, or rather, how the true significance was really the old, and the popular significance, an abuse, and really new¹. This is illustrated in Cranmer's correspondence with a justice of Kent in October, 1537, after the promulgation of *The Institution of a Christian Man*. The justice seems to have used his position to give an interpretation to that document entirely in accordance with his own

¹This idea had been embodied in a treatise entitled "Novae doctrinae ad veterem collatio" by Urbanus Rhegius, published in 1526. It was translated into English and published in 1537-8 (B.M. Press no. C. 25. a. 5), but the sale was prohibited during the reign of Henry VIII. It was, however, republished in 1548 (B.M. Press No. C. 25. a. 19[2]) as a preparation for the coming book of Common Prayer. The translation was by W. Turner, chaplain and physician to the Protector Somerset (vide *Church Quarterly Review*, vol. xxxv. p. 48, 1892). The full title of the English edition was "The olde learnyng and the new, compared together whereby it may easily be knowē which of them is better and more agreeyng wyth the everlasting word of God. Newly corrected and augmented by Wyllyam Turner. Imprinted at London by Robert Stoughton dwellyng within Ludgate at the sygne of the Bysshops Myter MDXLVIII" (B.M. Press no. 1020. b. 3). Of ceremonies it is said that the new learning teaches that they must be kept because they are the worshipping of God "the religious men and rude priests do defend the ceremonies whatsoever they be so stiffely as though holynesse consysted and stode in them onely. . . . For we used to set much by ceremonys and to conceive a vain opinion and confidence to be justified by them if they be perfectly done: and if we leave them undoon we conceive a foolyshe feare (that is) of every hande a noughty conscience." So the old learning teaches us that "we should use very few ceremonyes: as we have Baptysme and the supper of the Lorde after the ordenaunce of Christ in the New Testament," remembering "to take faithe and charitie with us, as the rulers and gendres of ceremonyes, in the whiche if they were done, they myght be dooen godly. Before all thynges we must take greate heede and diligent provision, lest ceremonies hurte and destroye the head and the root of our religion, which is faithe in Christ," which if we have we "may be occupied in the ceremonies of the church without any blame. For he that is justified by fayth, keepeth ceremonies, leste he shuld offend those that be yet weake in the faithe, not as necessary to righteousnesse, but as teachyng and bringyng up for weaklynges, beleivyng stedfastly that all those outwarde thynges bee free unto us through faythe and that we owe nothyng to any bodye but onely love (Rom. xiii)."

bias, which was that of a staunch adherent of the popular system. For this Cranmer rebukes him, and calls him to task for causing his servants "to report since this new book of the clergy's determination (i.e. *The Institution*) came forth by the king's grace's commandment, that all things are restored by this new book to their old uses, both of ceremonies, pilgrimages, purgatory, and such other, calling those that of late have preached of the abuses of them, false knaves and men worthy of no credence; truly, you and your servants be so blinded, that you call old that is new, and new that is old; and of malice, as it appeareth, you will not learn of them that can tell you, what is new and what is old. But in very deed the people be restored by this book to their old good usages, although they be not restored to their late abused usages; for the old usage was in the primitive Church, and nigh thereunto when the Church was most purest, nothing less so to phantasy of ceremonies¹, pilgrimage, purgatory, saints, images, works, and such like, as hath these three or four hundred years been corruptly taught. And if men will indifferently read these late declarations, they shall well perceive, that purgatory, pilgrimages, praying to saints, images, holy bread, holy water, holy days, merits, works, ceremonies, and other such, be not restored to their late accustomed abuses, but shall evidently perceive that the word of God

¹Cranmer's opinion on Ceremonies had already been definitely(?) stated to the king in 1536: "And here I spake of the ceremonies of the Church . . . that they ought neither to be rejected or despised, nor yet to be observed with this opinion, that they of themselves make men holy or that they remit sins, . . . nor the laws and ceremonies of the Church at their first making were ordained for that intent. But as the common laws of your grace's realm be not made to remit sins, nor no man doth observe them for that intent but for a common commodity and for a good order and quietness to be observed among your subjects; even so were the laws and ceremonies first instituted in the Church for a good order, and for remembrances of many good things, but not for remission of our sins" (Jenkyns' *Cranmer*, vol. i. p. 169). As late too as 1538, when the crusade against superstitious images, &c., was at its height, Cranmer's visitation injunctions to the Diocese of Hereford (*sede vacante*) contain no instructions with regard to ceremonies (Pocock's *Burnet*, vol. iv. p. 392).

hath gotten the upper hand of them all, and hath set them in their right use and estimation ; although it be otherwise reported by them that would fain have the people maintained in sedition, and continue in blindness and in disobedience."

The justice writes in answer an indignant denial of all the archbishop's allegations, but only in general terms. The archbishop replies, reiterating his charges and adding that, "in your sessions and elsewhere you be not so diligent nor circumspect to open and set forth things requisite of necessity to our salvation . . . as you be in the declaration and setting forth of mere voluntary things, of the which we have no ground nor foundation of Scripture. The abuses of which voluntary things have been so long nourished in the Church that the estimation of them hath put out of place, or at the least greatly obscured, and hindered the very articles of our faith and such things as of necessity and upon pain of damnation we are bound both to believe and do. . . . Surely, therefore, I do not impute this to you, as doing it of malice, or of purpose, but rather for lack of some knowledge in not discerning sincerely things commanded by God and by His word from things ordained by man and grounded upon mere devotion, without any foundation and ground of the word of God." The justice again repudiates the charge without dealing with it in detail, and the correspondence is apparently closed October 7, 1537.¹

Still the plan of attempting to promote uniformity by official regulation went on, and Crumwell's Second Injunctions² were issued on September 5, 1538, followed on October 11 by the king's mandate to the Archbishop of Canterbury for their proclamation.³ These injunctions contain but little concerning ceremonies, and, so far as such matters are treated, are directed against images. After

¹ Jenkyns, *Cranmer*, vol. i. pp. 215-22.

² Pocock's *Burnet*, vol. iv. p. 341.

³ Wilkins, *Concilia*, vol. iii. p. 837.

enforcing the previous injunctions of 1536¹ they condemn "wandering to pilgrimages, offering of money, candles or tapers to images or reliques—or such like superstitions." Parishioners are to be admonished against feigned images abused with pilgrimages, and offerings, and images are declared to "serve for none other purpose, but as it be books of unlearned men, that can no letters, whereby they might be otherwise admonished of the lives and conversations of them, that the said images do represent; which images if they abuse for any other intent than for such remembrance, they commit idolatry in the same to the great danger of their souls." This was supplemented on November 16 of the same year (1538) by a Proclamation² which contains nothing new; indeed, the real problem was not to force on a number of further changes, but to give fuller and more complete effect to those which had already taken place. The king must assert his own supreme

¹ vide supra, p. xxix. n. 2.

² *Burnet*, vol. vi. p. 220. This was entitled: "The King's proclamation for bringing in seditious books" which after regulating the importation and printing of books in English proceeds to the matter of ceremonies: "And forasmuch as many brooked divers and many laudable ceremonies and rites heretofore used and accustomed in the Church of England, not yet abrogated by the king's authority; whereby arose different strifes and contentions; as for and concerning holy bread, holy water, processions, kneeling and creeping on Good Friday to the cross, and Easter Day, setting up lights before the Corpus Christi, bearing of candles on the day of purification, ceremonies used at the purification of women delivered of child and offering of their chrisms, keeping of the four offering days,* payment of tithes according to the old custom of the realm, and other such like ceremonies; his Majesty charged and commanded all his subjects to observe and keep them, so as they shall observe and use the same without superstition, and esteem them for good and lawful ceremonies, tokens and signs to put us in remembrance of things of high perfection, and none otherwise. And not to repose any trust of salvation in them but take them for good instructions, until such time as his Majesty change or abrogate any of them as his highness upon reasonable consideration both may and intendeth to do" (Strype's *Cranmer, Eccl. Hist., Soc.* ed. 1848, vol. i. pp. 410-13). See also the footnote in *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.*, vol. xiii. pt. ii. no. 848, p. 353 as to the confusion of dates for this document in Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii. 696 and 847.

* The 'Offering Days' were Christmas and Easter; and (until in 1536 the King substituted St. John Bapt. and Michaelmas) Whitsuntide and Feast of Dedication. In 1551 Bp. Hooper (*Later Writings*, p. 145) enquired whether ministers "hold forth . . . any sign unto the people upon the offering days, that they should kiss their vestments, chalice, paten, or any other thing." Cf. *Latimer*, 2nd Sermon on the Card, *Works* (Parker Soc.) i. 23 n.; *Liturg. Eliz.* 105. (Parker Soc.) Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii. 824.

authority over the Church of the realm, and compel the clergy to obey him in all things.¹ Then, in December, we find a draft of a further Proclamation² in course of preparation. This was issued on February 26, 1539; after reciting the previous proclamation, it enjoins the bishops and clergy to instruct the people as to the right use and effect of the ceremonies used; e.g. on the significance of holy bread, and holy water, every Sunday, and on Candlemas to give the reason for the bearing of candles that day, and to give similar instructions on other occasions when some special ceremony was still observed.

Uniformity, however, did not seem to follow; the King's injunctions were still but remissly observed and the people remained in their old ignorance. The proclamation of February 26, 1539³ effected but little, yet its object and intention were clear to all. John Butler and others, writing to Conrad Pellican, and others at Zürich, informing them of the state of religious affairs in England, say that "here ceremonies are still tolerated, but explanations are added, as that holy water is to remind us of the sprinkling of the blood of Christ, that the bread signifies the breaking of his body," &c.⁴ Melancthon's opinion is expressed in a letter to Cranmer⁵ in which he laments the inconsistency of re-

¹ *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.* vol. xiii. pt. ii. Introd. p. xxiii.

² *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.* vol. xiii. pt. ii. no. 1183 (R.O.) The document consists of 14 pages, corrected by Crumwell.

³ *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.* vol. xiv. pt. i. no. 374; Titus, B. 1. 539 (B.M.); Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii. 842. See also *Letters*, etc. (u. s.) xiv. pt. i. p. 164, n. 403 § 67.

⁴ *Letters and Papers Henry VIII*, vol. xiv. pt. i. no. 466; *Original Letters*, Parker Society, no 624. The writers are no doubt referring to the passage in exposition of the Fourth Commandment in the bishops' book (*Institution of a Christian Man*) "as sprinkling of holy water doth put us in remembrance of our baptism, and the blood of Christ sprinkled for our redemption upon the cross. Giving of holy bread doth put us in remembrance of the sacrament of the altar." (Lloyd's *Formularies of Faith put forth by Authority during the reign of Henry VIII*, pp. xxx, 147.) There is a similar passage near the close of the *Rationale*, cap. 24^a, at pp. 41, 42, below.

⁵ March 30, 1539: *Letters and Papers Henry VIII*, vol. xiv. pt. i. no. 631; *Corpus Reform.*, iii. 676.

taining the impious laws of Rome after having removed their author, and says that the Church should retain the ceremonies divinely given and some useful rites consonant with Holy Writ. He had read the late edict with great sorrow, and asks, "Do London and Winchester think they are bringing a new philosophy down from Heaven if they pick out these allegories from Dionysius and the *Rationale Divinorum*?¹ I am not so unlearned as to wonder at these absurdities or to be unable at need to feign prettier interpretations." Writing to Henry VIII, at the same time,² he laments that superstitious rites still remain;³ rejoices in the promise of a public conference on ritual, and warns the king of the bondage of ceremonies if enforced by corporal penalties.

Before the next session of Parliament we find a "remembrance" of Crumwell, "A device in Parliament for the unity in religion"⁴, and after its meeting on April 28 a proclamation was drawn up, though probably not issued, declaring the king's distinct intention to extinguish diversities of opinion by law⁵. On May 5 the Lords appointed a Committee of Bishops to consider the religious question⁶: it consisted of the two archbishops and six other prelates—Tunstall, Latimer, Clark of Bath, Salcot of Bangor, Good-

¹ Many references to writings formerly ascribed to Dionysius the Areopagite, and to passages in the *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum* of Durandus (Bp. of Mende), A.D. 1284, are supplied by the *Index* to the *Parker Society's Publications*, pp. 279, 287.

² April 1, 1539: *Letters and Papers Henry VIII*, vol. xiv. pt. i. no. 666; Cleop. *E.* v. 244 (B.M.); Pocock's *Burnet*, iv. 347 and the letter of March 26, *Letters and Papers Henry VIII*, vol. xiv. p. i. no. 613; Cleop. *E.* v. 239.

³ Some idea of the ceremonies then in common use may be derived from an examination of churchwardens' accounts for 1539-44; e.g., *St. Mary At Hill London*, E. E. Text Soc. O. S. 128, pp. 381-3; *St. Edmund's, Salisbury*, pp. 83-86.

⁴ *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII*, vol. xiv. pt. i. no. 655 (R.O.).

⁵ *Letters and Papers Henry VIII*, vol. xiv. pt. i. Introd. p. xliii. see the draft; ib., vol. xiv. pt. i. no. 868; Cleop. *E.* v. 304 (B.M.); Strype, *E.M.* i. ii. 434; and cf. letter of May 4 from John Husee to Lord Lisle: "This Parliament there shall be a thorough unity and uniformity established for the Reformation of the Church of this realm;" *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII*, vol. xiv. pt. i. no. 922.

⁶ Collier, *Ecclesiastical History of Great Britain*, v. p. 35; *Journal of House of Lords*, vol. i. p. 105.

rich of Ely, and Aldridge of Carlisle—under the presidency of Crumwell. This committee effected nothing, and the matter was taken out of their hands and decided by a Committee of the whole House¹. The result was the Act of Six Articles which, after approval by the Houses of Convocation, and acceptance by the Commons, passed into law on June 28 of the same year, the penal clauses passing the Commons on July 12 (31 Henry VIII, c. 14). The Act of Six Articles struck a blow at any hopes that might still have been entertained of an agreement with the German Protestants. Negotiations had long been in progress² and

¹ *Journal of House of Lords*, vol. i. p. 109.

² Negotiations with the German Protestants in the matter of religion had always been intimately connected with questions of general foreign politics. Without considering the original invitation in 1534 to Melancthon, which was rather of a personal character, we may pass at once to 1535, when Fox, Heath, and Barnes were acting as Henry's ambassadors at Smalcalde, and subsequently spent the winter at Urthenberg endeavouring to come to some doctrinal concord with the Germans. The result of their labours was the appointment of an embassy to come to England and go through the whole matter (Strype, *E.M.*, ii. 239), but this fell through in 1536 owing, partly at any rate, to the disgrace and death of Queen Anne Boleyn: (see Joachimo Camerario Bambergensi, June 5, 1536; *Melancthon Letters*, bk. iv. no. 187, ed. 1642, London). Fox, now Bishop of Hereford, seems to have kept up communication with Germany, and in 1537 we find a German correspondent writing to him and referring to the proposed conference between the continental reformers and the English (*Letters and Papers Henry VIII*, vol. xii. pt. i. no. 541). Negotiations were again formally entered upon when the Protestants met at Brunswick in the early part of 1538, and Christopher Mount was sent over with full instructions (ib., vol. xiii. pt. i. no. 367). Henry had already paved the way by sending letters to the Duke of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse (ib., nos. 352, 353, Feb. 25). These letters were answered in March (ib., nos. 648, 649), but the Germans seem to have had some difficulty in learning the King's mind from Christopher Mount, especially as to whether he was "willing to abolish from his realm all the impious ceremonies of the Bishop of Rome". The embassy to England was at last appointed, and although it was not the great embassy headed by Melancthon which was originally intended (though Melancthon was invited, ib., no. 815, April 20), yet it met with a good reception when it arrived on May 31, 1538 (Castillon to Montmorency, ib., no. 1102). The envoys were Francis Burgard, George à Boyneburg and

were formally re-opened at the beginning of 1539 at Frankfurt, by Christopher Mount¹ and his colleague Paynell, who had probably been joined by Dr. Barnes² in March. Mount does not seem to have been too handsomely furnished for his embassy, which included the opening of the first tentative negotiations for the hand of the Princess Anne of Cleves³. The envoys met with some success to begin with, but experienced great difficulty in getting any definite answer from the Germans. Crumwell writes, urging them in the King's name to get forward with the matters concerning religion and mutual aid for the defence

Frederic Myconius, and they debated for some months with two English bishops and four divines under the leadership of Cranmer. The King seems to have taken part in their discussions, some portions of which were reduced to writing and are found annotated in the King's hand (ib., xiii. pt. ii. nos. 165, 166). One section (no. 166, § 5, section 3) is headed *De Ceremoniis*: the principle laid down is that a distinction should be made between ceremonies which are useful and those which are not useful. It is a very wholesome rule that those which are not against the faith nor against good morals and have something *ad exhortationem melioris vite* should be preserved, and the more so if they have been of universal use and their significance be understood. This document has been attributed in Dr. Gairdner's Calendar of State Papers to a German hand; but at any rate it does not express the German view as stated by Melanchthon in his letters to Cranmer and the King, but it is exactly in accordance with the English view as laid down in injunctions, proclamations, and other official documents of Convocation and the civil power. The negotiations certainly lasted till the end of August, 1538, and they may have been continued by correspondence for a longer period; but it was found impossible to come to an agreement on private masses, communion in one kind, and the compulsory celibacy of the clergy; so the envoys returned home, and on Nov. 1, 1538, Melanchthon writes of their arrival: "Our English ambassadors have returned. They bring good hope of amending the churches. The monument of Thomas of Canterbury there has been destroyed and the image of Mary by the sea and several others overthrown" (ib., no. 741).

¹ *Letters and Papers Henry VIII*, vol. xiv. pt. i. nos. 103, 157.

² *Letters and Papers Henry VIII*, vol. xiv. pt. i. no. 490.

³ *Letters and Papers Henry VIII*, vol. xiv. pt. i. no. 552 (March 18, 1539): cf. no. 920 (May 3, 1539).

of the Gospel¹. The answer came at last from the German Protestants: they say they will never separate from the Gospel; they fear some of the English bishops remain addicted to their old traditions, and that upon their opinion certain vicious and idle rites are by that edict confirmed. They think a further embassy useless because of their difference of opinion on the Mass, the Lord's Supper, and Celibacy². On April 5, 1539, Melanchthon writes to Justus Jonas: "To-day the British envoys, Christopher and his colleague, leave; Christopher salutes thee³." Mount was bringing with him to England Burgard and Ludovicus à Bambrige as envoys from the German Protestants, and this notwithstanding their answer; but here Melanchthon's influence gained the day. He writes⁴ to Henry that he has given letters to Francis Burgard going to England. His business relates to the commonweal of the Church and the preservation of sound doctrine. On April 23, 1539, they reached England, and Crumwell writes to the King: "A certain person who arrived this morning reports that Christopher Mount shall arrive hither this day with Burgartus and another gentleman from the Duke⁵." On the next day he writes that Mount and Paynell report that they think the instructions of the German envoys are to demand concord in doctrine and mutual help in defence⁶. No practical result arose from this embassy⁷, and indeed the

¹ *Letters and Papers Henry VIII*, vol. xiv. pt. i. no. 580.

² *Letters and Papers Henry VIII*, vol. xiv. pt. i. no. 698.

³ *Letters and Papers Henry VIII*, vol. xiv. pt. i. no. 704.

⁴ *Letters and Papers Henry VIII*, vol. xiv. pt. i. no. 737.

⁵ *Letters and Papers Henry VIII*, vol. xiv. pt. i. no. 834. The other gentleman is Ludovicus à Bambrige and the Duke is John Frederick of Saxony.

⁶ *Letters and Papers Henry VIII*, vol. xiv. pt. i. no. 844. The embassy was mixed up with a plan of the Duke of Saxony's to wed his son to the Princess Mary of England. Marillac reports this to Montmorency coupling it with the question of religion (ib. no. 908).

⁷ It is hardly probable that the document entitled *A copy of such things as Martin Luther, Philip Melanchthon, and certain cities and princes of Germany their adherents, have admitted*, March, anno 1539,

passing of the Six Articles in the following June rendered agreement impossible¹; moreover the shifting of foreign politics was tending to render a German alliance less immediately necessary². Negotiations were kept on foot in a half-hearted manner for some time, but nothing further was accomplished³. So far as the history of the Church

can constitute the instructions of the German envoys. In the face of Melanchthon's opinion so recently expressed in his letters to the king, this document would give away the whole case for the Protestants: whatever its object may have been it almost certainly emanated from the English side (see *Letters and Papers Henry VIII*, vol. xiv. pt. i. no. 642; Strype, *E. M.* i. i. 526; Walch, *Luther's Works*, xix. 72; Seckendorf iii. 228). For the conflicting views of its origin, see Dixon, *History of the Church of England*, vol. ii. pp. 107-110, and Jacob's *The Lutheran Movement in England*, ch. xii.

¹ *Letters and Papers Henry VIII*, vol. xiv. pt. ii. nos. 186, 211, 378. 413.

² On April 2, 1539, Marillac the new French ambassador arrived in England, so relieving the whole nation from the immediate dread of war (*Letters and Papers Henry VIII*, vol. xiv. pt. i. introd. l, and no. 669; cf. no. 912).

³ Melanchthon writes to Henry VIII on Nov. 1, 1539 (*Letters and Papers Henry VIII*, vol. xiv. no. 444) making an earnest appeal against the Six Articles, and blames the English bishops for them. The Germans were indeed hoping something from the Cleves marriage, and the Elector of Saxony adopting the same line on 12 April, 1540, sends the King a pamphlet containing the articles decided on at the Council of Frankfort and at Smalcalde, and urges Henry to adopt them (ib., vol. xv., nos. 310 and 509; *Corp. Ref.* iii. 1005-1009; Seckendorf iii. 266). Marillac, writing to Montmorency on May 21, 1540 (ib., no. 697), says that it is thought this request will have little effect, and it is even said the pamphlet contains several erroneous doctrines: and so far as England is concerned, a book will shortly be issued under authority of Parliament in which will be determined all that is to be held in religion. By the end of the year 1540 the repudiation of Anne of Cleves; and the execution of Crumwell had put the Germans so utterly out of heart, that Melanchthon on August 17th writes of Henry VIII as the English Nero (ib., vol. xv. no. 985); and in February 1541 Richard Hilles could write to Bullinger that "one may travel from the East of England to the West and from the North to the South without being able to discover a single preacher who out of a pure heart and with faith unfeigned is seeking the Glory of God" (ib., vol. xvi. no. 578).

of England up to the end of the reign of Henry VIII is concerned, we can safely say that German Protestantism had no influence whatever on the question of ceremonies. This is exactly what we might have expected from the different points of view from which the matter of the reformation of ceremonies was regarded in England and on the Continent. To retain where possible, and always to explain, was the official view of the Church of England, and she was not to be moved from that view by vague dreams of a concord with detached bodies of foreign religious malcontents.

Meanwhile no one could be more punctilious than the King himself in the performance of the old ceremonies. John Worth, writing to Lord Lisle on May 15, 1539, says that on Holy Thursday the King went in procession about the Court at Westminster and in the Whitehall. "My Lord Cobham bore the sword before him with a multitude of other nobles. The High Altar in the chapel was garnished with all the Apostles upon the altar, and Mass by note, and the organs playing with as much honour to God as might be devised." I was told by those of the king's chapel and by Killigrew that upon Good Friday last the king crept to the cross from the chapel door upwards devoutly and served the priest to Mass the same day, 'his own person kneeling on his Grace's knees.' His Grace receives Holy Bread and Holy Water every Sunday, and daily uses all other laudable ceremonies. In all London no man dare speak against them on pain of death."¹ Although this might be easy enough for the Supreme Head, yet his subjects had to walk warily in the path between the old ceremonies and the new injunctions, for at this very time there had been sad trouble in Salisbury Cathedral about observing the King's injunctions concerning the kissing of images, which was limited now to creeping to the cross and kissing it on Good Friday and

¹ *Letters and Papers Henry VIII*, vol. xiv. pt. i. no. 967. Cf. Ellis's *Original Letters*, Series II. vol. ii. p. 145: Thomas Pery to Ralph Vane, one of Lord Crumwell's gentlemen, Oct. 1539. Good Friday fell on 4th April that year; and Ascension Day on 15th May.

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The Act of Six Articles was not passed without many delays. Parliament found great difficulty in settling the religious question even though the Supreme Head himself resorted in his own person to the debates of the bishops.⁴

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⁴ Marillac to Montmorency (*Letters and Papers Henry VIII*, vol. xiv. pt. i. no. 989, May 20); cf. *ib.*, no. 1003, 1015. Marillac to Francis I. writes that the bishops have had great altercations, some for entirely abolishing the mass, others for making a new one, and the majority for preserving in its entirety the ancient customs and celebration. The latter party prevailed, and the king as chief of that party has declared that the Holy Sacrament is to be adored and revered with the ceremonies. He also notes that, as marriage of priests has been decided against, the ambassador of the Duke of Saxony has left, little satisfied, and as ill content with the king as possible. *Letters and Papers Henry VIII*, vol. xiv. pt. i. no. 1091, June 9th, 1539.

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It seems to have been favourably received in the country, "the people being much more inclined to the old religion than to the new opinions."¹ The King's injunctions were still being enforced in the country and the Bishop of Exeter advised his archdeacons to warn the curates to instruct the people against the superstitious use of the old saints' days which interferes with the work of labourers, artificers, fishermen, and shoemsmiths,² such superstitions being maintained "for lack of good instruction by the curates." But the preachers of the Gospel, approved by German Protestantism, were not yet silenced, and it was not until March 24, 1540, that the most prominent of them, Dr. Barnes, made his recantation.³ Then the Duke of Norfolk could write "that never prince with more affection and with more charitable dexterity hath and daily doth persecute such ungracious persons as do preach and teach ill learnings, or, against any of the old ceremonies of the Church, than the king doth."⁴

Nevertheless the Six Articles were too rigorous in their penalties to be consistently enforced, the formularies of faith and the various injunctions and proclamations needed codifying; the marriage with Anne of Cleves had proved distasteful to the King; and Crumwell, the prime mover in so much that had been already done, was tottering to his fall. The King, however, before he sent him to the scaffold, was to use him once more to attempt to enforce the uniformity he so much desired, and on April 12, 1540, the Vicegerent came down to the House with a complete plan for solidifying this work. In his speech he said that "in order to attain concord in Religion the king had studied first to set forth true doctrine: then to separate pious from impious ceremonies, and to teach the true use of them:

¹ *Letters and Papers Henry VIII*, vol. xiv. pt. i. nos. 1092, 1207, 1260, 1261, and *Introd.*, pt. i. p. xlviii.

² *Letters and Papers Henry VIII*, vol. xiv. pt. ii., no. 342; Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii. 846; Oct. 17, 1539.

³ He was burnt at the stake on July 30, 1540.

⁴ *Letters and Papers Henry VIII*, vol. xiv. pt. ii., no. 429; March 31, 1540. (R. O.) This is from Sir J. Wallop to Lord Lisle enclosing a letter to the former from the Duke of Norfolk.

. . . and for the further promotion of these designs I now announce that his majesty has chosen¹ certain Bishops and Doctors, who are to deliberate what is requisite for the institution of a Christian man. These he has divided into two sets: the first who are to treat of doctrines are the two Archbishops, the Bishops of London, Durham, Winchester, Rochester, Hereford, and St. David's, and Doctors Thirlby, Robinson, Cox, Wilson, Day, Oglethorpe, Redmayn, Edgworth, Crawford, Symonds, Perkins, and Tresham. In the determination and rationale of ceremonies he has appointed the Bishops of Bath, Ely, Salisbury, Chichester, Worcester, and Llandaff;² and to neither party shall be lacking the aid of his own determinations, of his own sincere and exact opinions."³

The King as we have seen had never given his formal assent to "*The Institution of a Christian Man*,"⁴ but he had expressed

¹ See Appendix IV. p. 68, below.

² *I.e.* J. Clark, *Bathon*; T. Goodrich, *Elfen*; J. Salcot, *Saris.*, Ri. Sampson, *Cicestr.*; J. Bell, *Wigorn*; and Ro. Holgate, *Landavien*. See Appendix II, pp. 60-62, below.

³ "Hec igitur ut promoveantur ad vere doctrine expositionem et editionem sua maiestas delegit Episcopos et Doctores aliquot qui ea sincere enuntient que ad institutionem viri Christiani attinent quos nominatim recensuit Archiepiscopum Cantuarien etc. . . . horum munus erit in vera doctrina tradenda. Alios autem Episcopos delegit qui Discrimen et Rationem exponant Ceremoniarum videlicet Episcopum Bathon: etc. . . . Episcoporum horum functio in Ceremoniis et Ritibus erit" (*Journ. of House of Lords*, vol. i. 126-9).

⁴ See above p. xxxiv, note 1. and the letter of Richard, Bishop of Chichester, to Dr. Welles of Rye: "The king is content that the book (*The Institution of a Christian Man*) lately put out by the prelates should be obeyed and taught till he shall otherwise order after more mature council. Meanwhile no person ought to ignore the book, for in things concerning religion I suppose the doctrine is true. In other ceremonies when it shall please the king to order them otherwise, the people shall be taught accordingly." (*Letters and Papers, Henry VIII*, vol. xiii. pt. ii. no. 147; August 21, 1538). On June 12, 1541, Cranmer at a meeting of the clergy at Canterbury stated that the bishops' book had been published without his consent, as the king very well knew, (*ib.* vol. xviii. pt. ii. Introd. p. xxxvii and no. 546, p. 368). Cranmer had, however, signed the introductory petition to that book; and see his letter to Crumwell, Jenkyns' *Cranmer*, i. 187.

his willingness that it should be taught for three years, and there had always been an intention to revise it. These committees were formed with that intention, and the work was to be carried out with all due deliberation and care. This is illustrated by the Act of Parliament passed on the following 6th of June (32 Hen. VIII, c. 36), which, after reciting the appointment of the above committees goes on to say "that the true definition, determination and declaration thereof requireth ripe and mature deliberation and advice, and that so high and godly a thing may not rashly be defined, determined and set forth nor to be astrict or restrayned to this present Session or any other Session of this present parliament, but from time to time be defined, determined, concluded and published as the case shall require and as his Majesty with the advice of his most honourable Council, and such as his highness hath appointed or shall from time to time appoint to the same, shall think convenient."¹

Following to some extent the arrangement of *The Institution of a Christian Man*, the different matters to be treated of were divided amongst the bishops so that they might revise them; they were then brought up into Committee and discussed, and questions on the Sacraments² were propounded; the resulting answers, in writing, were again considered, combined and brought forward in 1543,³ and finally passed as "*A Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man*." We do not know whether the

¹ For the text of this Act, which does not appear in the smaller collections of the Statutes usually available, see Appendix III. (iv.), from *Statutes of the Realm*, vol. iii. p. 783, MDCCCXVII.

² These Questions on the Sacraments and the Answers exist in two MSS., one at Lambeth, cod. 1108, and the other at the British Museum. Cleop. E. v., ff. 36-44. (See Dixon, *op. cit.*, vol. iii. p. 303).

³ Wilkins, *Concilia*, vol. iii. p. 868. Cleop. E, v. ff. 36-44; cf. ff. 53-57, 73-92, 113-122. See also Lambeth MS. 1107, ff. 96-7 *De Sacramentis*: "De numero, usu, et efficacia . . ." (in Cranmer's handwriting). A later debate on the Eucharist (Dec. 15-19, 1548) has been edited by Gasquet and Bishop, *Edward VI. and the Book of Common Prayer*, pp. 397-413, from B. Mus. MS. Reg. 17 B. 39.

same plan was adopted in the case of the ceremonial matters, for none of the preparatory work has yet come to light, and the two existing MSS.¹ (Cleop. E. v. B.M. and Lambeth, No. 1107) are finished copies compiled in all probability by clerks, and, with some small variations, may be considered identical. Although the results of the labours of this Committee were never issued, there can be no reasonable doubt that the above MSS. represent the digested opinions of the bishops appointed by the King for the determination and rationale of ceremonies.²

¹ See note on the MSS. of the *Rationale*, pp. lxxv.-lxxvii., below.

² Strype (*Life of Archbishop Cranmer*, vol. i. p. 167, Eccl. Hist. Soc. Ed.) and other later authors following him give an earlier date to the *Rationale*, attributing it to the year 1538 or 1539 as a necessary corollary of the Act of Six Articles. Strype inclines to the view that it was compiled by Stephen Gardiner, partly on the ground that "the Bishop of Winchester with his own pen hath an annotation in the margin of one place in the book." This is doubtless the marginal note on folio 272 of *Cleop. E. v.*, which is certainly not in Gardiner's handwriting. Strype believes that Cranmer "put himself to the pains of answering all this long book in behalf of ceremonies", basing his view on a passage of Foxe, who states that "the Archbishop confuted eighty-eight articles devised by a convocation and which were laboured to be received but were not" (Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, vol. viii. pp. 35-36, ed. 1849). There seems to be no ground for connecting these eighty-eight articles of Convocations whatever they were, with the Book of Ceremonies. Collier (*Eccl. Hist. of Great Britain*, vol. v. p. 103), attributes the *Rationale* "to about the same time" as *A Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man*. Blunt (*The Reformation of the Church of England*, vol. i. p. 492) follows Strype in favouring the earlier date, and is of opinion that the Book of Ceremonies was drawn up by Malet, one of Crumwell's chaplains, on the strength of a letter dated April 4, 1538, from Cranmer to Crumwell, in which Malet is spoken of as "occupied in the affairs of our Church Service." Malet's work was most probably in connexion with the amended breviary of 1541, and indeed the word Service or *Servicium* means "Matins, prime, hours, evensong and compline" (see the text of the *Rationale*, cap. 6), or, in other words, the contents of the breviary. It is possible that the necessity for drawing up something in connexion with the ceremonies of the Church may have been apparent during the visit of the German legation, and Malet may have been employed by Crumwell on this task as early as 1538; but among the several different handwritings of the MSS. of the *Rationale* that of Malet does not occur. The Rev. F. E. Brightman in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, July 1909 Art.: "Common

We can gather from the MSS. themselves that the *Rationale* could not have been compiled before Crumwell's Injunctions of 1538, for in the article on *Processions* occurs the following sentence: "Provided always that in all processions the manner of praying appointed by the King's

Prayer," Vol. x. p. 517, and in the *English Historical Review*, Jan. 1909, vol. xxiv. pp. 101-4, argues for a later date, viz., 1545-1547, for the composition of the so-called *Rationale*. He bases his argument on the proviso in section 22 (see below p. 40) on *General and Particular Processions* which lays down that always "in all processions the manner of praying appointed by the Kinges Injunction be observed." The King's Injunctions here referred to, Mr. Brightman considers to be some injunctions not now forthcoming, which were issued in 1545, directing the use of the Litany in English as the sole procession on Sundays and Festivals: he regards these as the Injunctions referred to by Wriothesley in Oct. 1545: "The eighteenth of October, being Sainet Lukes daie and Soundaie, Pawles quire song the procession in English by the Kinges Injunction, which shall be song in everie parish church throughout Englande everie Soundaie and festivall daie, and non other." This would further mean that by "the manner of praying" we are to understand praying in the English tongue rather than in the Latin. Mr. Brightman is therefore of opinion that the *Rationale* must have been written subsequently to the publication of such injunctions. In addition to the general considerations as to the date of this document stated above, I would urge that whether any such injunctions of 1545, or that prefixed to Henry VIII's Primer and dated 6th May, 1545, were in Wriothesley's mind, or not, yet it is plain from Mr. Brightman's own contention that the object of such injunctions was to prescribe one form of procession, and that, in the English tongue, for all occasions, and none other: now, it seems to me quite clear that the *Rationale* distinctly contemplates different kinds of processions, in fact those various forms which were found in the old Latin Service Books; "General and particular processions with the Litanies and other prayers" cannot mean an uniform order of Procession such as was laid down in 1544-5. If the *Rationale* was written subsequently to the date of the putting forth of the King's Majesty's Procession, to take the place of all other processions, then it would not have provided for general and particular processions, etc. The putting forth of such an uniform order coincides with the adoption of the vernacular in the public service of the Church. Therefore it is not safe to assume that the expression "the manner of praying" in the *Rationale* means praying in English as distinct from Latin, unless we are ready to assume that the various other forms of procession, general and particular, were also rendered in English: this however we know was not the case for Cranmer was busy trying to translate them into English, and never

Injunctions be observed.”¹ This can only refer to the Injunctions of 1538, in which it is laid down that “where in times past men have used in divers places in their processions to sing ‘*Ora Pro Nobis*’ to so many saints, that they had no time to sing the good suffrages following, as ‘*Parce nobis Domine*’ and ‘*Libera nos Domine*,’ it must be taught and preached, that better it were to omit ‘*Ora Pro Nobis*’ and to sing the other suffrages.”² The *Rationale*, then, could not have been compiled before October, 1538, the date of

seems to have succeeded (Jenkyns’ *Cranmer*, vol. i. p. 315), and this is what led to the King’s Majesty’s procession in English becoming the only one subsequently used. Moreover, the preface to King Henry VIII’s Primer of 1545 uses the expression “form of praying” not “manner of praying” when stating that provision is made that men may do their devotions to God either in Latin or English: “we have provided the self-same form of praying to be set forth in Latin also, which we had before published in English.” It seems much more reasonable to refer the “manner of praying” to the use of “the Good Suffrages . . . *Parce nobis Domine*, and *Libera nos Domine*” (instead of *Ora pro nobis*,) “in divers places in their processions” (*i.e.* whenever anything in the nature of a Litany with suffrages occurred in any of the various forms of procession in the old Latin Service Books), in accordance with the 17th Injunction of 1538.

So with regard to the limit of 1547, it seems highly improbable (and here we think we have Mr. Brightman with us) that the *Rationale* could have been composed after “the covering of images in Lent” has fallen into disrepute in high quarters in 1546. None of the above authors seem to have recognized the importance of the appointment of the committee announced by Crumwell on April 12, 1540, or the precise wording of that appointment. Dixon (*op. cit.* vol. ii. pp. 233-5 and 311-14) is the first to lay stress on this connexion, and he unhesitatingly attributes the Book of Ceremonies to the Committee appointed on that date. This is borne out by the subsequent Act of Parliament (32 Henry VIII, c. 26); and indeed it is hardly possible that when the committees on doctrine and on ceremonies were appointed together, and so much stress was laid on the tasks that they were to undertake, all traces of the work of one of them should be lost; this we should have to conclude to be the case if the Book of Ceremonies does not represent the fruits of their deliberations. Unhappily it is not a dated document.

¹ *Cleop.* E. v, 293, *vide infra*, *Rationale*, *Cap.* 22; p. 40

H. Gee and W. J. Hardy, *Documents illustrative of English Church History*, pp. 280-281.

the publication of these injunctions. As a limit in the other direction we have a letter of Cranmer¹ to the King dated January, 1546, in which he urges that the King should give instructions to the archbishops and bishops to abolish the ringing of bells upon All hallows day at night, covering of images in Lent, and creeping to the cross, the two last of which are enjoined in the *Rationale*²; and he suggests that the King should command Nicolas Heath, Bishop of Worcester, and George Day, Bishop of Chichester, to explain the reason of taking these observances away. Any agitation for doing away with these particular ceremonies would certainly have been known to those who drew up the *Rationale*, and they would hardly have included in it ceremonies the observance of which would have been in direct opposition to the known will of the King.³ The date of the *Rationale*, then, falls certainly between October 1538 and January 1546. From April 12, 1540 onwards, a committee was in existence, appointed by the King and confirmed by an Act of Parliament (32 Hen. VIII, c. 26), specially for the purpose of drawing up a rationale of ceremonies, which would not have been necessary if such a document as that before us had already existed. The same reasons which may be given for the fact that the *Rationale* was not put forth contemporaneously with *A Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man* may with greater force be urged against a later date than 1543.

To determine these reasons, it is not enough to allege the opposition of Cranmer to the observance of ceremonies, and to assume that it was owing to his influence that the *Rationale* was suppressed in 1543. In the first place Cranmer

¹ Jenkyns' *Cranmer*, vol. i. p. 317 et seq.

² *Vide infra*, *Rationale*, *Capp.* 10, 15, 17; pp. 30, 33, 34.

³ Henry was probably at this time ready to abolish these ceremonies, otherwise Cranmer would hardly have made the suggestion. Gardiner, however, prevented anything being accomplished in the matter, urging political reasons.—*Vide* Strype's *Cranmer*, i. p. 300 et seq.

was by no means so powerful a person in 1540-3¹ as he had been during the first years of the agitation against Queen Katherine of Aragon; in the second place there is but slight evidence, if any, that Cranmer had changed his opinions on the subject of ceremonies since 1536,² and his liturgical studies would surely have led him to favour the retention of all honest ceremonies provided they were explained, which was just what the *Rationale* did.³

Again, whilst the *Rationale* was in course of compilation, 1540-3, there was a strong movement on foot in the direction of a reform of the service books of the Church, and although the ceremonies might still be advantageously explained, yet much of the "Booke of Ceremonyes" would have required revision when the services themselves were recited in the vernacular. The *Rationale* is essentially an explanation of the existing Latin services: the revision and recasting of those services and their reproduction in English was a long process, and at every step in that process the *Rationale* became more and more unsuitable for publication. It therefore slipped out of sight till the authorities called for it in the first year of King Edward VI.

¹ Ralph Morice, secretary to Cranmer, writes of his position after Crumwell's disgrace and death, and when the *Necessary Doctrine and Erudition* was in preparation, "for even at that season the whole rabblement which he took to be his friends, being commissioners with hym, forsook him and his opinions in doctrine, and so leaving his post, alone revolted altogether on the part of Stephen Gardiner." (*Narrative of the Days of the Reformation*, Ed. Nichols, Camden Soc., p. 248). The name of Cranmer's secretary is given as 'Ralph Morice' (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*), or 'Morres' in the Brit. Mus. MS. Harl. 426 f. 17, the *Reformatio Legum*, on which he was employed. Gasquet and Bishop give reduced facsimiles of his handwriting (*Edward VI. and the Book of Common Prayer*, pp. i, 16, 33) from Brit. Mus. MS. Reg. 7. B. iv.

² For Cranmer's opinion in 1536 see his letter to the king about his two sermons at Canterbury. Ellis *Original Letters*, Series III, Vol. 3. p. 26.

³ And, further, *A Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man* contains a clause under the Fourth Commandment, in favour of the laudable Rites and Ceremonies, almost identical with that in the *Institution of a Christian Man*; and to this at least Cranmer must have willingly or unwillingly subscribed.

so that they might have the fruit of the labours of the committees¹ appointed to consider these questions before them, in consolidating the work of revision of the Service Book in preparation for the First Prayer Book of King Edward VI.

The archbishop was not in good odour in his own diocese during the years from 1541 onwards. Clergy and lay folk alike were eager to accuse him before the King of not carrying out the injunctions regarding ceremonial, and of abetting, and even of preaching, heretical doctrine. No less than three distinct attempts were made in 1543-4 to discredit the archbishop and to bring him to the end that had already overtaken his friend and confidant, Thomas Crumwell. The presentments at the Primate's visitation in August, 1543, witnessed to the disordered state of the diocese. Cranmer seems to have instituted this visitation partly to be able to counteract the charges that he knew were about to be levelled against him. Little wisdom seems to have been used in the diocese in carrying out the late injunctions, especially in the matter of images and shrines which, by the King's orders given in October 1541, were to be removed owing to their abuse. This matter Cranmer had left in the hands of Nevinson, who had married his niece, and it had been carried out with more zeal than discretion.² The archbishop and his commissary, indeed, seem to have overreached themselves in showing their bias against the supporters of the old learning. There was some justification then for the "plot of the prebendaries against the archbishop", as Strype calls it³. The charges were based to a great extent on the presentments made at the visitation; e.g. that the clergy "did not declare to their parishioners, upon Candlemas

¹ These committees would, according to Act of Parliament, 32 Hen. VIII. c 62, be still in existence, for no time was set for their termination.

² *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.* vol. xviii. pt. ii. Introd. p. xl. et seq.

³ *Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer*, vol. i. p. 244, Eccl. Hist. ed. 1848.

Day, the true use of bearing candles, neither of Palm Sunday or Good Friday the true use of those days' ceremonies, in bearing of palms and creeping of the cross," neither at any time did such and such a priest declare the true use of holy bread and holy water as he is bound to do by the king's majesty's proclamations.¹ Cases of contempt of holy water, of breaking the arms and legs of the Rood, of not using the ceremonies, as well as of not explaining them, were also alleged. Cranmer was appointed by the King as commissioner to inquire into these charges against himself, but it was only with the continued aid of the Supreme Head that he was able to extricate himself. It is noticeable how loyally Henry supported Cranmer; practically alone of all the King's favourites he was able to come safely through those stormy times owing to a rare qualification in that age, his unselfish compliancy of temper. So he escaped the charges of heresy laid against him shortly after by Sir J. Gostwick, and the still more serious Privy Council accusations of 1544.

Meanwhile it is useful to trace the further dealings with ceremonial and kindred matters up to the end of the reign of Henry VIII². The political breach with the Germans³ allowed the King to enter into friendly relations with the Emperor, and the magnificent embassy despatched towards the end of 1540 with Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, at its head, was used to assure the Catholic princes "that nothing had been innovated here upon the doctrine of the primitive Church."

For enforcing orthodoxy in doctrine the Act of the Six Articles was resorted to whilst the injunctions were used to insist on ceremonial exactness. Between 1539 and 1546

¹ For the Proclamations circa 16 Nov. 1538—26 Feb. 1539, see above, pp. xxxix-xl.

² Marillac to Francis I, Nov. 16, 1540, *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII*, vol. xvi. no. 269; cf. the early letter, May 1540, *ibid.*, vol. xv. no. 697.

³ We do not find Mount active again with the Germans until 1546, when the last bull for the meeting of the Council of Trent had been issued: v. Dixon, *op. cit.* ii. 366.

there were four persecutions¹ under the Act of the Six Articles; hundreds of persons were indicted and even imprisoned for a time, but the King intervened with a general pardon, and probably not so many as twenty victims suffered the extreme penalty of the Act in the years during which it was in force. Although used in moderation, however, the Act was held *in terrorem* over the realm, and even extended to accusations of withstanding the curate when he was performing the ceremonies of divine worship or of expressing scorn of the ceremonies of the Church.

Cranmer was undoubtedly much opposed to the retention of images², shrines, and relics, and the King's injunctions³ as to such matters had not been observed to his satisfaction; moreover, there was still no small plunder to be gained in this way. As has been seen it was in October, 1541⁴, that Henry VIII issued letters to the archbishop for the taking away of superstitious shrines and images, and all rectors and vicars were ordered to inquire whether (1) there be continued any superstition, hypocrisy, or abuse within their cures contrary to ordinances, and (2) whether they have in their churches any shrines, covering of shrines, tables of feigned miracles, pilgrimages, images and bones resorted and offered unto, and other monuments of things wherewith the people have been deluded, or any offerings or setting up of lights not permitted by the King's injunctions⁵. This was followed by a proclamation regulating certain holy days; some which have been abrogated are ordered to be kept in future, and some which are still kept

¹ The first immediately on the passing of the Act of 1539, the second in the early part of 1541, the third in 1543, and the last in 1546.

² Even so far back as the time of the Bishops' Book we find it stated that the clauses relating to praying, kissing, and kneeling before images were added by the King, after the bishops had set their hands to the contrary, and Cranmer no doubt among them. See *Narrative of the Days of the Reformation*, ed. Nichols, p. 224.

³ The Injunctions of 1538.

⁴ *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII*, vol. xvi. nos. 1233 and 1262; Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii. 857-8.

⁵ *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII*, vol. xvi. nos. 1258, 1262

are to be abrogated¹. On the meeting of Convocation, January 20, 1542, after the important matter of the appointment of committees to examine the Bible, the archbishop carried the matter still further by moving the bishops that candles, silk vestments, and other ornaments should be taken away, which were placed on or in front of images, and that portuises, missals and other books should be reformed. This latter was a matter very near the heart of the archbishop, and on the assembling of Convocation in 1543, the Synod was informed that it was the king's wish that all the Service Books should be "newly examined, corrected, reformed, and castigated, and that the service should be made out of the Scripture and other authentic doctors." It was ordered that the examination and correction of these Service Books should be committed to the Bishops of Salisbury and Ely,² each of them taking three of the Lower House as assistants: but the Lower House waived this privilege, and the matter remained in the hands of the bishops. This business of the revision of the Service Books had been in contemplation for some time, as we may judge from a letter of Sampson, Bishop of Chichester, to Crumwell, dated June 7, 1540, three days before the latter's fall. Sampson recalls how he, with the Bishop of Durham (Tunstall), and the Bishop of London (Stokesley), had three years previously, when the Bishop's Book was being prepared, compared the old Greek books together, in one of which there was a form of mass written, and that these Greek books were sought out to set forth the old usages and traditions of the Church because they were thought to be of authority³.

Together with the question of the reform of the Service

¹ Wilkins *Concilia*, iii. 859. Cf. 34 & 35 H. VIII c. 1.

² Dr. John Salcot (or Capon) was Bishop of Salisbury, and Thomas Thirlby, Bishop of Ely, in 1543. *The Effect of the Kinges moste gracious Priviledge* to the printers, Grafton and Whitchurch, who in Dec. 1543 were reprinting in 8vo. the 'King Harry' Sarum Breviary, which Whitchurch had issued in 16mo. in 1541 'mense Februario,' will be found at p. lxix. below.

³ *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII*, vol. xv. no. 758.

Books arose the still more important question of their translation from the Latin into the vernacular. When such great stress was being laid on the necessity for the proper understanding of the Services of the Church, when printing was largely increasing the number of available books, when the knowledge of letters was growing daily and the English language was itself developing into a national speech, it is not to be wondered at that there was a growing desire for the Services of the Church to be celebrated in the vernacular. This was not an unfamiliar notion to the laity. For a long time previously portions of the Divine Service had been used and perused by them in the English tongue. Since the introduction of printed books the Prymer had been as common in English as in Latin; portions of the special offices such as Baptisms and Marriages, as well as Confession and Absolution,¹ had been said in the mother tongue. As late, however, as 1548, grave doubts were felt as to saying the whole of mass in English², though the Epistles and Gospels were probably read in English as well as Latin³. It is not then at all surprising

¹ Maskell prints an English *Confiteor* and *Misereatur* from a xvth cent. MS. Bodl. Douce, 246, in *Anc. Liturgy*, 16, 17th; *Mon. Rit.* iii. 304. Cf. Simmons, *Lay Folks Mass Book*, pp. 8, 186. For the wedding formulae, cf. *Church Quarterly Review*, ix. 438.

² *The Order of Communion*, 1548, Introduction pp. xiii-xix. (Henry Bradshaw Society's vol. xxiv., 1907). Cf. the letter of Sampson, Bp. of Chichester, to Mr. Welles of Rye, Cleop. E. v. 296. The Bishop supports Mr. Welles in refusing to yield to pressure amongst his parishioners to recite certain parts of the Service of the Church in the vulgar tongue, and the Bishop writes to him on 21st Aug., 1538: "The ministers of the Church, both Latins and Greeks, have sung and said their offices or prayers in the Latin or Greek grammatical tongue and not in the vulgar; and the people prayed apart in such tongue as they would, and so it is a common prayer of the ministers and people together." (Strype *Eccl. Mem.*: I (1) p. 500 et seq.) and see above p. xlix, note 4.

³ In 1537 R. Redman, the London printer, issued "*Pystels and Gospels*" in English, and J. Bydell did the like. F. Regnault's 8vo edition, at Paris, was produced in 1538. In April 1539 "*the Bybel in Englyshe*" was printed in folio by Grafton and Whitchurch. Nicholas Shaxton, Bishop of Salisbury, in his Injunctions of 1538, enjoined that "all such having cures, do every Sunday and holy day continually,

that when the question of the revision of the Service Books arose, their translation should also be considered.

So far as the *Rationale* was concerned, if translation of the Service Books alone had been intended, then it might still have been useful; but since "examination, correction, reformation, and castigation" were contemplated, it may well be that it was held back when *A Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man* was printed¹ and published.

If Committees were actually appointed in 1542-3 for the special purpose of the reformation of the Service Books, they would appear to have accomplished but little. The Litany in English (1544-45)² and the Prymer of

recite, and sincerely declare in the pulpit, at the high mass time, in the English tongue, both the Epistle and Gospel of the same day" (Pocock's *Burnet*, vol. vi. p. 210) Cf. Bonner's Injunctions 1542 (Wilkins, *Concilia*, vol. iii. p. 866). See below, page 20, n. 3.

¹The bill for printing it exists, for we have in the accounts of the King's printer up to June, 1543, the following entry: "1. June. 24 books entitled A necessary doctrine for any Christian man, also 24 more on the 3rd and again on the 4th June." There is no mention of the *Rationale* (*Letters and Papers*, vol. xviii. pt. ii. no. 211.)

²The Litany was first sung in English in St. Paul's Cathedral on St. Luke's Day, which in 1545 fell upon a Sunday (the xxth after Trinity) (*Wriothesley's Chronicle* I. p. 161 Camden Society Publications). It had however been printed in May, 1544, and on June 11th, 1544, it had been ordered to be used (Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii. 868). The old processions still continued to be ordered e.g. on Sept. 19th 1544. "Thanks is to be put to God by devout and general processions in all towns and villages of the North for the capture of Boulogne." (*Letters and Papers, Henry VIII*, Vol. xix to 251). On the 3rd October following, "the Bishop of London in his Pontificalibus began Te Deum at Paul's, which we sang for the good return of the king's majesty, and general procession after." (*Wriothesley's Chronicle* I. 149.) "On 12th October, 1544, we have the printed form. "An exhortation to prayer thought meet by the king's majesty and his clergy, to be read to the people in every church before procession. Also a Litany with suffrages to be said or sung in English in the time of the said procession" (*ibid*, no. 421). In July, 1545, we have the dispute about the procession at Myddleton, where the priest began the King's Procession in English in the chancel, and coming to the body of the church turned again to sing in the church: the congregation however left the priest in the church and went into the churchyard, and sang the ordinary procession in Latin (*ibid*, vol. xx. pt. i. no. 1118). The act for *The Order of the Communion* was passed 17th Dec., 1547, and printed

Henry VIII, (1545) may with more probability be attributed to the personal labours of Cranmer, Salcot and Thirlby. We can perhaps also assign to this period, Cranmer's first attempt at the revision of the Breviary based on that of Cardinal Quignon.¹ General processions "with such reverence and devotion as appertaineth" were ordered in connexion with the Litany in English, the reason for their introduction being that "heretofore the people, for lack of good instruction and calling, understand no part of such prayers and suffrages as were used to be sung or said."² The King, in his preface to the Prymer (1545), again lays stress on the necessity of understanding "The pith and effectualness of the words used in public and private prayer,"³ although those who can understand the Latin tongue are not forbidden to use it, so that all parties may at large be satisfied."

Meanwhile, on May 5, 1543, "The Book of Religion was read in the Council Chamber before the nobility of the realm⁴," and Wriothesley, writing to Lord Suffolk on May 13, says: "As to our own things the king has set forth a true and perfect doctrine for all his people so as to avoid diversity of opinion, and confirmed it by a law made (among other good laws) in the session⁵ of his Parliament, which is prorogued till November 3 next."⁶

The attempt made by Cranmer and his commissary apparently to restrict the ceremonies used in the diocese of Canterbury⁷ was to some extent checked by the influence

copies were dated 8th March, 1548. The *Book of Common Prayer*, etc., soon followed, and was printed 7th March, 1549.

¹ Gasquet and Bishop *Edward VI and the Book of Common Prayer*, pp. 16-29.

² Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii. 869.

³ Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii. 873.

⁴ Dasent's *Acts of the Privy Council*, i. 127.

⁵ 34 & 35 Henry VIII, c. 1: An Act for the advancement of true religion and the abolishment of the contrary. Jenkyns, in his *Remains of Thomas Cranmer*, vol. i, preface, p. xxxvi, holds that it was in pursuance of this Act that *A Necessary Doctrine and Erudition* was framed. But the dates are obviously against this view.

⁶ *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII*, vol. xviii. pt. 1. no. 534.

⁷ See before, pp. lvi, lvii.

of Gardiner, and so far as the general use of ceremonies and their popularity is concerned, there is no evidence that the supporters of the "new learning" had made much way in the country. At the time of the Peace celebrations on June 13, 1546, a general procession was made in London, and all the richest crosses out of the several parish churches were carried, and the bravest copes worn for the greater solemnity. The exhibition of all this Church treasure was too much for the King's cupidity, and the chronicler adds that it was shortly after, with the Church plate, called into his treasury and wardrobe.¹

In the first year of King Edward VI there is one possible allusion to the *Rationale* when the Convocation of 1547 ask that "Whereas, by the commandment of King Henry VIII, certain prelates and learned men were appointed to alter the service in the Church, and to devise other convenient and uniform order therein, who according to the same order did make certain books as they be informed, their request is that the said books may be seen and perused by them, for a better expedition of divine service to be set forth accordingly." This might refer only to the appointment of the Bishops of Salisbury and Ely in 1542-3, but it may very well also be intended to include what had been done by the committees of 1540. Cranmer's compliant convictions were now leading him in a direction opposed to "ceremonies." It is therefore easy to understand that the archbishop might at this date have intentionally kept the *Rationale* in the background, and indeed we could expect to hear nothing more of it when once the invasion of Protestantism had set in.

The value of this document, therefore, lies in the fact that it was compiled by our reformers before extraneous influences had begun seriously to affect English thought, and at a period when those admirable formularies, *The Institution of a Christian Man* (1537) and *A Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man*, (1543) were put forth as English declarations against any innovation on the

¹ Lord Herbert, *The Life and Reign of King Henry VIII*, p. 604, ed. 1683.

doctrine of the primitive church. Doctrine and ceremonial are so intimately connected that the *Rationale* or *Booke Concerning Ceremonies to be Used in the Church* is the natural appendix to *A Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man*; the one illustrates the continuity of the English Church in doctrine, the other in ceremonial.

As we have seen, the Book of Ceremonies was drawn up, like all the other formularies and injunctions which touched upon ceremonial during the reign of Henry VIII, in such a way as to keep in mind the abuses which had grown up round the devotional system—(1) the excess of ceremonial, (2) its unintelligibility, (3) the idea that ceremonies in themselves were means of grace, and (4) the consequent loss of distinction between what is matter of faith for salvation and what is merely a matter of decent order.

Again, it was designed by the great churchmen who drew it up as representing, not an attempt to formulate a system of ceremonies to suit the times, but as an explanation of those existing ceremonies which were to be observed “for a decent order.”

It comes to us, it is true, without any official authority either of Church or State, yet it not only carries with it the weight of the names of the distinguished prelates who compiled it, but it also claims attention as definitely and deliberately consolidating all that had been previously enacted and enjoined for the English Church on one of the most debated points of the Reformation.

In the chaos that followed on King Edward VI's accession, the right point of view with regard to the reformation of doctrine and ceremonial was to a great extent lost; it was not recovered until the reign of Queen Elizabeth, when we were referred back to the first and second years of King Edward VI, and notwithstanding all that has happened since, we can still say that there is nothing in the *Rationale* which the English Church cannot accept to-day, and justify by her appeal to antiquity and sound learning. For the ceremonies which that document prescribes are, in the words of our Book of Common Prayer, such as “do serve to a decent Order and godly Discipline,

and such as be apt to stir up the dull minde of man to the remembrance of his duty to God by some notable and special signification, whereby he might be edified ; and again they be neither dark nor dumb ceremonies, but are so set forth that every man may understand what they do mean, and to what use they do serve."

A NOTE ON THE TWO MANUSCRIPTS OF THE BOOK OF CEREMONIES.

OF the two known Manuscripts of *The Book of Ceremonies*, one is among the Cottonian MSS. of the British Museum and is numbered Cleopatra E. v. (folios 268-293) ; the other is in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth Palace, and forms one of the Miscellaneous Collection of Manuscripts, being numbered 1,107 (folios 167-202).

The Manuscript in the British Museum has been twice edited, once by Strype in his *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, vol. I. pt. ii. no. 109, and again by Collier in the fifth volume of his history. In neither case is the transcription entirely accurate, and Strype and Collier do not seem to have taken any notice of the Lambeth manuscript.

The present transcript is from the Lambeth manuscript and has been carefully compared with the Cleopatra E. v., and the variations will be found duly noted¹.

The manuscript in the British Museum is very neatly written,² probably by two professional scribes : the first

¹ The Archbishop of Canterbury kindly allowed the Lambeth manuscript 1,107 to be deposited for a time at the British Museum, so that it could be collated with Cleopatra E. v. One of his Grace's predecessors, Dr. Benson, permitted the same to be done with the companion MS. 1,108, in 1893, when Sir G. F. Warner kindly scrutinised the various handwritings therein, at Mr. C. Wordsworth's request.

² Dr. James Gairdner has pointed out (*Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.* vol. xiv. pt. I. p. 144) that the marginal note on f. 272 in Brit. Mus. MS. Cotton *Cleop.* E. v. (see p. 10, below) was "wrongly said by Strype (*Eccl. Mem.* vol. I. pt. ii. no. 109 being vol. II. pp. 411-433 of the Oxford Edition of 1822), to be in the handwriting of [Bp. Stephen] Gardiner." Sir G. F. Warner, who has more than once kindly examined the passage in *Cleop.* E. v. for us, is inclined to

taking folios 267-285, and the second taking folios 286 to the end; the writings are very similar, but in the first part there are fifteen to seventeen lines of writing to a page, and in the second part thirteen to fifteen. Practically each of the scribes has taken one of the two parts into which the document is divided, so that folio 286, beginning a new page, marks the beginning also of the second part. The paper throughout is the same, $11\frac{3}{4}$ inches by 8 inches, showing a water-mark of 8 or 9 vertical lines, and a gloved hand with a *fleur de lys* at the fastening, and a five-petalled flower on the second finger. There are very few inter-lineations or corrections. The initial words of the paragraphs are (as our facsimile shows) written in large black letters, as in a lawyer's engrossing hand at the present day.

The Lambeth manuscript is of a very different character. There are five or six different handwritings, mostly of clerks, but one (folio 186-9) may be that of a non-professional scribe. So, too, there are different kinds of paper with different water-marks; the pages mostly measure $11\frac{3}{4}$ inches by $8\frac{1}{4}$ inches, but some are 12 inches long.

Frequently the scribe does not finish up a page, and sometimes leaves room at the bottom for as many as four more lines;¹ a fresh handwriting will sometimes begin in the middle of a sentence, or in the middle of a page. This may lead to the conclusion that the original manuscript which the clerks had to copy was given to them in sections, and when they had finished their work the joint result was combined: sometimes we even find the

suspect that the note is in the hand of "a clerk writing from dictation." The peculiarity noticeable in the writing of the marginal note in Cleop. E. v. 272 is, that the letter *h* always crosses at the bottom, whereas in the text the tail of the *h* turns up without crossing the downstroke. (See our facsimile). This handwriting bears a certain resemblance to that of Dr. Owen Oglethorpe, who was one of Cranmer's Commissioners on the Sacraments in 1540, and who subsequently (when he was Bishop of Carlisle) crowned Queen Elizabeth. A specimen of his writing is in C. C. Coll. Cam. *Parker MS.* 127, art. 27.

¹ See for instance, p. 5, §[3]. The MS. *Lambeth* 1107, is bound in parchment, with remains of the old variegated silken strings. It

scribe copies a page of the original, and, ending up with plenty of room, begins a new page when he may be beginning a fresh page of the original he is copying from. The number of lines therefore on a page varies very much. There are at least three kinds of paper and water-marks: one (folio 167-71, 176-83, 185, 190, and 192-4) is the same as that of Cleopatra E. v.; a second is very similar, but the gloved hand has no *fleur de lys* but some other pattern at the fastening, and there are twelve to thirteen vertical lines; a third kind of paper has eleven to twelve vertical lines with a jug watermark. This jug water-mark is identical with that which may be seen in the paper of a dated manuscript (1536) in Cleopatra E. v. (folio 415), and is very similar to the jug water-mark found in Cranmer's *Common Place Book*, Royal MSS. 7 B. xi. and xii. (B. M.).

I have been unable to identify the non-professional writing¹ of folios 186-9: so far as I can judge, it is not that of any of the bishops appointed on the Committee of Ceremonies,² nor is it that of Cranmer's secretary to whom the *Rationale* has been sometimes attributed.³

In both manuscripts the first part up to the end of the "Ceremonies used in the Mass" forms a distinct section, and then the part beginning at "Sundays and other feasts" follows on.⁴ There is a distinct break in both manuscripts and a finishing up with Amen, and a starting fresh in writing and arrangement without headlines, but with

contains 16 documents on paper, nos. 15 and 16 being dated, 1531. The cover bears the old lettering "B. Cranmer: Collections, of the; Lawe. Liber 2^{us}." The 7th item is '*The Right Use of Images*.' (See our pp. 44-52); and the 12th '*Ceremonies to be used in the Churche*.' (See our pp. 1-43).

¹ See p. 20, n. 1.

² The Bishops are named on p. xlix, above.

³ Reduced facsimiles of Ralph Morice's handwriting may be seen in Gasquet and Bishop's *Edward VI. and the Book of Common Prayer* at pp. i. (showing some of Cranmer's corrections), 16, 33, from Brit. Mus. MS. Reg. 7 B. iv.

⁴ See pp. 28, 29.

important words written larger. This may account for the section on Oil and Chrism appearing in both parts of the Lambeth manuscript;¹ it was perhaps originally placed after the section on the Daily Services in the first part,² and is copied in again by another scribe in the second part in connexion with the day of the year on which Oil and Chrism were blessed. In Cleopatra E. v. it appears only in the second part. This rather tends to show that the scribes who were responsible for the British Museum manuscript had the Lambeth manuscript before them, and knew that they needed only to write the section out once, namely in connexion with the special services of Easter-tide. We may therefore conclude that the Lambeth manuscript is the older.

No help, however, as to the exact date can be gathered from the writing or the paper of the manuscripts. Both are doubtless contemporary documents. The Lambeth manuscript may very well be the finished draft, copied from the actual compositions of the bishops who formed the Committee of Ceremonies, and the exceedingly well written British Museum manuscript may have been intended for the King's eye, for had he not said³ that his counsel should not be wanting in the deliberations of his bishops?

It is also to be noted, that the British Museum manuscript does not contain the homiletical ending—the two paragraphs beginning “But for so much,” and, “Finally these rites,”—although, in the table of contents prefixed only to Cleopatra E. v., the heading, “A general doctrine to what intent ceremonies be ordained and of what value

¹ Viz. at pp. 14, 36.

² See p. 14.

³ See above, p. xlix. In the British Museum MS. *Cleop. E. v.* (‘Letters and Papers relating to the Reformation’) there are 52 items, the ‘*booke concernyng ceremonyes*’ being no. 44. It is immediately preceded by Letters of Melanchthon, cir. 1539, and is followed by ‘An Order taken for preaching and bidding of ye Beads in all Sermons.’ No. 4 bears the King's name stamped on it, and his autograph occurs in nos. 1, 14, 19 and 23. Those of Cranmer and other divines, in nos. 4 and 23.

they be of,"¹ descriptive of the final paragraph, does occur.

The division into two parts of convenient length which has been noted above, may have been due to the intention manifested in the issue of the earlier *Institution of a Christian Man*, that a convenient part should be read each Sunday and festival in every parish church, and here we should also find an explanation of the homiletical ending.

¹ That the MS. at Lambeth contained this additional passage at the end was noticed by Dr. Chr. Wordsworth, the elder, sometime Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, and editor of "Ecclesiastical Biography." He was domestic chaplain to Archbishop Manners Sutton, in 1805, and Rector of Lambeth in 1816. A pencil note in his folio copy of Strype's *Memorials* I. part 2, p. 295 was read by one of his grandsons, who drew attention to the homiletical character of the conclusion in an article on *A Sign of the Cross in Christian Ceremonial* in the *Ch. Quarterly Rev.* (1893), vol. xxxv. pp. 337-9.

NOTE ON THE 'KING HARRY' BREVIARIES

AND SOME OTHER SERVICE BOOKS PRINTED CIR.

1541-45.

(Contributed by the Rev. Christopher Wordsworth, M.A.)

ALTHOUGH no copy of the Salisbury Missal is known to have been printed after F. Regnault's folio of 1534 until R. Hamillon began the quarto re-issue at Rouen in 1554, there are traces extant of a few Latin service books of this English Use printed in the later years of K. Henry VIII.

At Antwerp the widow of Chr. Ruremund (Endoviensis) re-issued the *Hymni cum notis* [*musicis*] in July, 1541.

In January 1542-3, she issued the *Manuale*; and in the same year (1543) Nicholas Rufus (le Roux) brought out another edition at Rouen. The widow Ruremund also issued the *Processionale*, with its woodcut stations¹ drawn afresh, in 1544, and again in 1545. N. Le Roux printed several editions of the *Prymer in English*, and *English and Latin* for F. Regnault and others in 1531. (*Hoskins*, nos. 132-139). The name of St. Thomas of Canterbury was dropped from the Kalendar (and, except in the case of 3 prymer or *horae*, issued from T. Petyt's press in 1542-1543, from the Litany also) in subsequent editions ranging from Rob. Redman's 4to, 1538, to the 8vo of 1553, (nos. 140-201, pp. 51-70 in the Hand-List in E. Hoskins' *Primers*.) The '*Pystels and Gospels*' (in English) were bound up with, or included in many copies of 'the Prymer in English and Latin' or 'in English' from 1537 to 1545. The Sarum Breviary, however, appears to have received special attention in the way of revision in the period with which we are at present concerned, two editions, which the late Mr. W. J. Blew used to particularise as 'King Harry Breviaries,' having been issued by Prince Edward's printer, Richard Grafton, with whom on the second occasion Edward

¹ See plate, facing p. x. in Atchley's *Hist. of the Use of Incense*.

Whitchurch was associated. These two printers were severally employed subsequently (in March, 1548-9), as was also the Worcester printer, J. Oswen, a little later, upon the *Book of Common Prayer*. Grafton was likewise the printer of at least three issues of the *interim* 'Order of the Communion' in English, in March 1547-8, for administration of the Sacrament of the Eucharist while Mass in the Church of England still continued to be sung in Latin.

Whitchurch's Sarum Breviary, in 16^o, measuring 5½ inches × 3¾ inches, ('*cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum*,') bears the date 1541 in both its volumes, the Winter part containing the more precise date of the month of February. Like many earlier editions it claimed in its (Latin) title-page to be 'The Portos after Salisbury Use, newly imprinted and cleared from many faults' of printing or editing; but further it declared that in its pages 'the name falsely attributed to the Roman pontiff is left out, together with other particulars which are repugnant to our King's Most Christian Statute.'

The later edition of this King Harry Breviary (in printing which Grafton joined, and some copies of which were offered for sale by W. Telotson at the W. door of Paul's) was of a different form (8vo) and, while similar to that of 1541 in contents and title, is noticeable as containing in both volumes the Royal 'Priviledge' which we print below. The title page of the *Pars Hiemalis* bears the date 1544. The colophon is dated, December, 1543. The *Pars Estivalis* is dated 1544 in colophon as well as title.

The title-page, which is the same in both volumes, is printed in a woodcut border, whereof the upper block represents the suicide of Lucrece.

¶ PORTIFORIUM | secundum vsum Sarū | nouiter
impressum et a plur- | imis purgatum mendis. In | quo
nomen Romano ponti- | fici falso ascriptū omitti- | tur
una cum aliis que | christianissimo nostri Regis sta- | tuto
repugn- | ant.

¶ Excussum Londini, per
Ricardum Graf-
ton & Edwar-
dum Whit-

church

‘‘

1544.

Pars Hiemalis.

cum privilegio ad imprimendum solū | Per septennium.

¶ THE EFFECT OF THE KINGS

moste gracious Priuiledge and licence
 vnder his hyghnesse greate seale graunted
 and confirmed to his welbeloued
 subiectes Richard Grafton
 and Edward Whit-
 church

‘‘

HENRI THE EIGHTE by the grace of God, Kyng of Englande, Fraunce, and Irelande, defendour of the faith, and of the Church of England and also of Ireland in earthe the supreme head.¹ To al Printers of bookes, and bookesellers, and to all other our officers ministers and subiectes these our letters patentes hearing or seing, gretynge. We dooe you to vnderstande that where in tymes paste, it hath been vsually accustomed that these bookes of deuine seruyce, and praier bookes, (that is to saie) the Masse booke, y^e Graile, the Hymnal, the Antyphoner, the Processyonall, the Manuel, the Porteaues, and² the Prymer both in latine and also in english have ben prynted by straungers, as well within this our Realme, as also in other foreyn and straunge countryes,³ partely to the greate losse and hynderaunce of oure subiectes, who bothe hathe the sufficyente arte, feate and trade of pryntinge, and by imprynting suche bookes mighte profitably and to the vse of the cōmonwealth, are⁴

¹ The titles claimed by King Henry VIII. have been inked out in the Bodleian copy, probably after the accession of Queen Mary.

² ‘The Porteaues and’: *Pars Estivalis* (omitting the comma after ‘Porteaues.’) It was only the Prymer (not the Porteaues or Breviary) which was issued in English as well as Latin. Even in his second project for reform of the Breviary, cir. 1547-8, Cranmer suggested substituting English for Latin only for the recitation of the Lord’s Prayer and the Lessons. *K. Edward VI. and the Book of Common Prayer*, F. A. Gasquet and E. Bishop, pp. 30, 31, 374.

³ The reference to foreign printers has been inked out in Bodl. Gough 58.

⁴ ‘bee’: *Pars Estivalis*.

sette on woorke, and partly to the setting foorth of the byshope of Roomes vsurped authoritie, and keping the same in continuall memorye, contrarye to the decrees, statutes, and lawes of this our realme.¹ And considering also the great prouisyon expēces of so necessary woorkes as these are, and yet the same : or the greatest part of them not a lytle chargeable, etc. We of oure grace especiall haue graunted and geuen Priuyledge vnto oure welbeloued subjectes Richard Grafton, and Edwarde Whitchurche, citizens of London, by these oure Letters, Patentes, that thei and their assignes onely, and none other persone nor persones, sauing the saied Richard and Edwarde, and either of them and their assignes onely haue libertie to prynte the bookes abouesaied, and euerye sorte and sortes of them, whiche either at this presente daie are in vse, or hereafter by vs shalbe authorised within any parte of oure Realmes or dominions. And further that it shall not bee lefull for any maner of persone to print y^e saied bookes nor eny one sorte of them neither eny other booke or bookes that our saied subiectes or eny of them at their proper expences shall first printe or cause to bee printed, or printe again vpon other mennes corrections within the space of seven yeres nexte ensuinge the printing of euery suche booke or bookes so prynted by oure sayde subiectes and eyther of them, or of their assignes, or eny of them. Wherefore we wyll² and streightly commaunde and charge all and singuler oure subiectes, as well printers as bookesellers, that they ne eny of them printe or cause to bee prynted, neither eny booke or bookes prynted or to bee prynted contrarye to the fourme and meaninge of this oure presente licence and priuyledge vnder paine to forfait to oure vse all suche bookes and euery of them wheresoeuer thei shalbe found

(,)

GOD SAVE THE KING.

¹The paragraph about 'the Bishop of Rome's usurped authority' has been inked in Bodl. Gough 58.

²'wolle': *Pars Estivalis*.

The kalendar and 'almanach pro iiii annis' follow: then the '*ordo breviarii secundum morem et consuetudinem ecclesie Sarum anglicane, una cum ordinali suo quod visitato vocabulo dicitur Pica, siue directorium sacerdotum*'—in other words, the *Temporale* with the Pye, dated 'Londini in edibus Edouardi Whitchurche mense Decembri. Anno verbi incarnati 1543. Cum priuilegio ad imprimendum solum 'Veneunt in officina Gulielmi Telotson, iuxta ianuam Pauli occidentalem.' In the Psalter, the litany omits the invocation of St. Thomas (the abp.), and the intercessions for the Pope and Abbots. No selections from the missal are found in K. Harry editions. The non-Sarum additions *unius Matrone*, office of S. *Cedde's* Translation, and Commemoration of S. *Etheldrede*, as well as *officium B. Marie*, Commemoration of S. Cedde, and *In Dedicatione Ecclesie* are appended to the Commune Sanctorum. Also the 'Tabula de festorum divisione.' The title '*Episcopus*' is substituted wherever 'papa' used to stand. The Commemoration of St. Thomas no longer appears.

The Colophon in *Pars Hiemalis* is:—

¶ Londini in Edibus Edo-
-uardi Whitchurche mense
Decembri anno verbi in-
-carnati. 1543.

In *Pars Estivalis*:—

Impressa Lon- | dini: per Ricardū | Grafton: Anno |
dñi. MD | XLJJJ.

('These bookes are to bee solde at the west doore of paules in London by Wyllyam Telotson.'—P.E. Bodl. Gough, 58.) Telotson's name occurs as vendor of two other books printed by Whitchurch. (*C. E. Sayle.*)¹ The words *Per Septennium* are not found on the title of the P.H. in the Bodleian copy (Gough 58 *b.*); which has appended to it a MS. copy of the service 'In commemoratione sancti Ethelberti' from Hereford Use or intended for the commemoration of the title of some one or other of the 17 Churches with that dedication (*See Studies in Church Dedications* by F. Arnold-Forster, iii. 354, 360.)

¹ *Cambridge University Library, Early English Printed Books*, C. E. Sayle, i. p. 149.

On May 28th, 1545, Henry VIII at Greenwich, by his later bill, assigned grants "to Richard Grafton, servant to our moste derest soone Prince Edwarde, and Edward Whitchurch citizen of London, . . . and (their) assigns to print our primer (now by vs and our clargie) set forth both in English and Latin." A copy of such a Primer '*in English*' is fully described by Hoskins (no. 174) pp. 61, 237-44, from a copy by Grafton dated the following day, May 27th, 1545, with prince's plume and motto '*Ich dien*,' from a copy in Brit. Mus. C. 35. c. 15: one '*in English and Latin*,' (no. 179) Hoskins p. 63. B. Mus. C. 25. h. 10 (1) printed by Grafton, 6 Sept. 1545; and one '*in Latin*' ('*Orarium, seu libellus precationum per regiam majestatem et clerum latinè æditus*' (sic), no. 186 Hoskins, p. 65. B. Mus. C. 35. b. 18, 8vo, also printed by Grafton, with the same date 6 Sept. 1545 in colophon, but '1546' on title page.

On April 22nd, 1547, King Edward VI. granted his royal licence to Ri. Grafton, and E. Whitchurch to print 'books concerning Divine Service . . . being in the English or Latin tongue.' Pat. i. Ed. VI. p. 4. m. 7, cited by Gasquet and Bishop, *Edward VI. and the Book of Common Prayer*, p. 58.

A BOOK
CONCERNING CEREMONIES

TO BE USED IN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND



FACSIMILES

Facsimiles, showing some of the handwritings which occur in the two MSS. of the *Rationale*, or 'Book of Ceremonies,' and those in the treatise (pp. 44-52) on *the Right Use of Images*, will be found below.

They have been executed at Ludgate Hill, Birmingham, by Messrs. A. Cox and Co., from photographs taken by Mr. A. P. Monger, Bream's Buildings, Chancery Lane, London. The blocks are reduced to two-thirds of the size of the pages of original MSS.

- I. From *Lambeth MS.* 1107, f. 167, showing p. 1 of the *Book of Ceremonies*.
- II. From Brit. Mus. MS. Cotton, *Cleop.* E. v. f. 279. See pp, 19, 20 of our edition of the *Book of Ceremonies*.
- III. From *Lambeth MS.* 1107, f. 186, showing part of the same passage (p. 20).
- IV. From *Lambeth MS.* 1107, f. 132b, showing (among others) Bishop Cuthbert Tunstall's handwriting in a treatise on *The Right Use of Images*. (See pp. 48-50).



^aTHE POINTS TOUCHED IN THIS BOOK
CONCERNING CEREMONIES.¹

^a *Cleop.* E. v.
f. 267.

Pages in our edition
(1910)

(1. The Proëm : <i>Animadvertendum</i> .) ²	3
2 Churches &c } the hallowing and reconciling of them.	4
3. Churchyards ³ }	
4. The [<i>rites and</i>] Ceremonies [<i>observed</i>] ⁴ about the sacrament of baptism.	6
5. Ordering of the ministers ³ of the church in general.	13
6. Divine Service ³ to be said and sung in the Church ;— Matins, prime, and other hours.	...
(7. [<i>Oleum Chrismatis</i>] ³ :— <i>inserted here in L.</i> — <i>Cf.</i> no. 18.)	14
8. Ceremonies used in the mass.	15
9. Sundays, with other feasts.	29
10. Bells.	30
11. Vesture and tonsure of the ministers of the church and what service they be bound unto.	31

¹This TABLE OF CONTENTS, or list of *The Poyntz towchyd in this booke concernyng ceremonyes*, is not found in the Lambeth MS. 1107, but is peculiar to MS. *Cleopatra* E. v, in the Cottonian Collection of MSS. in the British Museum.

²The preface, proem, or '*Animadvertendum*,' as it is called in Strype's edition, is found in both MSS. though it is not specifically so named in the list of contents in *Cleop.* E. v, where the Points themselves are enumerated.

The '*Poyntz*' or sections are not numbered in either MS., but numerals are prefixed by us to the sections in the present edition for convenience of reference. We likewise indicate in our margin here the page where the beginning of each section will be found in the treatise.

³Latin titles '*Ecclesia*,' *Cimiterium*, *Minist(ri)*, *Seruic(ium)*, and *Oleum Chrismatis* are prefixed to five of the sections themselves (nos. 2, 3, and 5-7), where they occur in the text below in *L.* (*i.e.* Lambeth MS. 1107). The Latin titles do not occur anywhere in B. M. *Cleop.* E. v.

⁴The words '*rytes and*,' (not found here in the summary of points), are included in the heading to the section itself in *Cleop.* E. v, where the 4th section occurs below, see p. 6, *infra*.

12.	Bearing candles upon candlemas day. (<i>This section does not occur here in MS. L.</i>)	Page 32
13.	Fasting days.	...
14.	The giving of ashes.	...
15.	The covering of the cross and Images in lent.	33
16.	Bearing of palm.	
17.	The service of { Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, } before easter.	34
18.	The hallowing of oil and Chrism.	36
19. ^a	The washing of the altars.	...
20.	The hallowing of the font upon saturday in the easter even.	38
21.	The ceremonies of the resurrection in easter morning.	...
22.	General and other particular processions.	39
23.	Benediction of the bishops or priests.	40
24. ^a	Holy water and Holy bread.	41
(24. ^b).	[<i>Exorcisms to be omitted</i>]:— <i>a section occurring here in L. and not specifically named in the list of contents in Cleop. E. v, which, manuscript, now at least, does not contain it in its text, although it may have originally comprised an additional leaf.</i>)	42
25.	A general doctrine to what intent ceremonies be ordained and of what value they be of. (<i>This conclusion is named in the Summary of Contents in Cleop. E. v. but the text to correspond is now wanting in that MS.</i>)	43

^a *Cleop. E. v.*
f. 267^b.



Ceremonies to be used in
the Church

T'houghe it be very true that there is a great
 difference betwixt the commandment and words expressed by
 Scripture, necessary for a just man's life & salvation, and
 yet a ceremony devised by man, by which the words intended
 in Scripture are expressed abundantly, if god will may not be
 infringed, taken away or changed by any man, and the old
 said rites and ceremonies are appointed and ordained by
 man, using upon causes reasonable, may stand firm to
 time by good and industry, of authority to all places and
 changed yet such ordinary rites, and ceremonies
 devised by such as are in authority, for a direct order

* * Passages and words in *italics* in our text, here following, occur only in Brit. Mus. MS. Cotton, *Cleop.* E. v.

Passages and words in [square] brackets occur only in MS. *L.*, *i.e.* Lambeth MS. 1107.

Variations are shown in the margin, (where also the beginning of each page of MS. *L.* is noted.)

The text followed is that of *L.*, the Lambeth MS., subject to the above qualifications. The spelling has been modernised.

^a CEREMONIES TO BE USED IN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.^b

^a f. 167 *Lambeth*
MS. 1107.

^b 'of Englonde'.
add. Cleop. E. v.
f. 268.

[1.] Though it be very truth^c that there is a great difference between^c the commandments and works expressed by Scripture, necessary for a Christian man's life and salvation, and rites and ceremonies devised by men, because the works contained in Scripture are the express Commandments of God, which may not be infringed, taken away or changed by any man, and the other said rites and ceremonies are appointed and ordained by man, which upon causes reasonable, may from time to time by governors and men of authority be altered and changed, yet such ordinances, rites, and ceremonies, devised by such as are in authority, for a decent order^d quietness and tranquillity, ought (all abuses and superstition^e [s]^e clearly taken^f away) to be with all reverent obedience observed [by] the people, not as works or^g workers of their salvation but as godly policies² and ordinances made and devised by Christian governors, to the intent (as Saint Paul saith 1 Cor. 14) that

^c 'betwixt',
Cleop. f. 268.
^f 'bytwen' *L.*

^d f. 167. b.
^e 'Superstition':
Cleop. f. 218
^f 'thereby taken':
L.
^g 'and': *L.*

¹ In the Cottonian Collection of MSS. this treatise is preceded by (ff. 244-51) a letter of Melanchthon to Henry VIII. *Contra Inutiles Cereemonias*, etc., dated Kal. Ap. 1539, and followed (ff. 286-291 &c.) by injunctions dealing with similar questions, 1537-39. The MS. volume, *Cleop.* E. v. contains almost 760 pages and no less than 87 distinct documents, one at least of them (no. 46) bearing the King's name stamped on it. No. 19, a *Treatise against auricular confession and priest's marrying*, is entirely in the King's hand, and many of the documents are corrected by him.

² Cf. "as also touching certain . . . ceremonies . . . long time used . . . for conservation of an honest policy and decent and seemly order." *Articles* 1536.

^a 'of' altered to
'that' L.

b f. 168.

[all] things should be done and used amongst the Christian congregation with an honest reverence and a decent order. And therefore to the end that^a this Church of England may be comely and quietly ordered, and well instructed, it is thought meet and convenient that the orders, ^bceremonies and rites following, should be in the same Church, honestly, obediently, and reverently kept and observed.

^c'The church' *Cl^c op.* f. 268.

'Churches . . . the hallowing and reconciling of them.' *id.* f. 267 (Summary of contents).

d f. 168b.

[2.] ECCLESIA^c.¹

And first of all to have a common house for Christian people, which we call the Church, is very necessary that *there* they may come together where as the word of God is preached, the sacraments are ministered, and prayers as well of the people as [of] the ministers to Almighty God are made, both for them that be alive, and also for them that be departed in the faith of Christ, wherefore it is convenient, that place and *the* altars there, to be sanctified washed and prepared with prayers. Sanctified, that is to say, Separated from all ^dprofane uses and dedicated to the ends before rehearsed, and therefore no Christian person should abuse the same, either with eating, drinking, buying, selling, playing, dancing, dicing, or with any other profane or worldly matter; for all soberness, quietness and godliness ought there to be used. Washed,² to

¹ *Ecclesia*, one of the words that Gardiner Bp. of Winchester proposed should not be translated into English when the review of the translation of the Bible was proposed to Convocation, 1541.

Ecclesia: Dedicatio. See the service, *Liber Pontificalis* of Edmund Lacy, Bp. of Exeter (1420) ed. Ra. Barnes, Exeter, 1847, pp. 11-38. Maskell, *Monum. Ritualia*, (ed. 2, 1882) i. 196-239, cf. cccxvi-cccxxxvii. *The Object, &c., of the Rite of Consecration of Churches*, E. C. Harrington, 8vo. 1844. *The Pontifical Offices of David De Bernham*, edd. G. H. Forbes and Chr. Wordsworth, 4to, 1885, pp. 1-38; Alcuin Club Collections, iii.-iv., viii., and xii. (W. H. Frere, F. C. Eeles and A. Riley). The Pontifical of *Egbert* of York, 732-766) from an early 10th cent. MS., was printed for the Surtees Soc. in 1853. It contains a form, '*Ordo quomodo æcclesia debeat dedicari*,' at p. 27. For Ja. Calfhill's strictures see his *Answer to J. Martiell* (Parker Soc.) pp. 133, 135, 208-10.

² Cf. Durandus, *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum* (1284) Bk. I, ch. vi.

admonish all Christian people to wash inwardly their own hearts, and consciences, which be the living temples of God, before they shall approach to the use of any holy ministry^a there. Prepared with prayers, that the sacraments there ministered, may be acceptable to Almighty God^b and that it may please him to hear the humble and devout prayers of his people there, and that all things there done and heard by them, may be to their commodity, and wealth of their souls.¹

a 'mystery,' *Cleop.* f. 269.
b f. 169.

[3.] CIMITERIUM^c.²

And albeit that a glorious sepulchre^d is not profitable to the wicked man, and a vile sepulture hurteth not the good man, yet to put us in remembrance of death, that we may leave sin and wickedness, and to testify our faith and hope of the resurrection of our bodies again, therefore it is convenient that the churchyard, for a place of common burial^e for Christian people should be sanctified and hallowed, *and if it chances the same to be polluted we think it meet to be reconciled again.*⁴ And the sepulchres^f of Christian men with

c 'The Church-yard,' *Cleop.* f. 269. 'Church yerdes: the hallowing and reconciling of them.' *ib.* f. 267 (in the summary.)
d 'sepulture,' *Cleop.* f. 269.
e f. 169.^b

f. 170.

¹ Cf. the prayer *Deus qui invisibiliter* in the office for the Dedication of a church, *Lib. Pontif. Lacy*, p. 34.

² Cimiterium: The service, *Lib. Pontif. Lacy*, 42-6; Maskell *u.s.* i. 242-52; cccxxvii; *De Bernham*, 38-42. An earlier form, *Egbert Pontifical*, 54. ed. W. Greenwell, Surtees Soc., vol. xxvii. Cf. Durandus, Bk. I., ch. v. 'Qui sunt sepeliendi in Cimiterio,' a Sermon in J. Mirk's *Festial*, E. E. Text Soc., Extra Series, xcvi. part 1, pp. 247-9.

⁴ 'and if it chances . . . reconciled again':—an interlineation in *Cleop.* E. v. in a hand different from the surrounding text in that MS. The inserted words, however, seem to be written by the same scribe who wrote the interlineation—'which demands, questions and answers . . . we think it very convenient and meet to be uttered hereafter in the English tongue'—on folio 272, in the passage, 'Then (there) followeth a stipulation.' See pp. 9, 10, below: The handwriting is rather like Bp. Oglethorpe's, but cannot be pronounced to be his with any approach to certainty.

Reconciliation: The service, *Lib. Pontif. Lacy*, 46-52. *De Bernham*, 46, 47-50; Maskell, *Mon. Rit.*, i. 253-64; cf. cccxxviii-ccclvi. *Egbert Pontifical*, 57. Cf. Durandus, Bk. I. ch. vi. sections 45, 46.

go[o]d and godly prayers now used, and other ceremonies belonging to the same are very laudable and convenient.

(Space is left here in MS. L. sufficient for about 7 lines of writing).

[4.] * [NOW FOLLOWETH] THE RITES AND CEREMONIES
OBSERVED ABOUT THE SACRAMENT OF BAPTISM.¹

^a 'baptism,' *Cleop.*
f. 269.

^b 'of age and,'
Cleop. f. 269.

First [is] the catechism, which goeth before the same ^a, and it is as much to say as a teaching or an instruction for *in* the primitive church, when that many came to the Christian faith at the years and ^b age of discretion, it was used that such before they were admitted to Baptism should be taught the articles of the faith and the sum of Christian religion, and should promptly and readily render the

¹ Baptism: *Ordo ad faciendum Catechumenum*.

The (York and) Sarum Manual (1506) ed. W. G. Henderson for Surtees Soc. 1875, pp. 8*-11*; *Benedictio fontis*, 11*-14*; *Ritus baptizandi*, 14*-16*. Maskell, *Mon. Rit.* i. 3-13-36. cf. ccxl-ccliv.

Cf. as to significance of ceremonies and general treatment of Baptism *Enchiridion Christianae Institutionis* added to *Canones Concilii Provincialis Coloniensis*, 1538.

This treatment of Baptism follows closely the order of the 'Ordo ad faciendum Catechumenum and the 'Ritus Baptizandi' of the Sarum Manual (*e.g.*, that of 1543) where, however, between these two offices occurs the 'Benedictio Fontis.' The last name was no real part of the *Ritus Baptizandi*, and was only required to be used occasionally. Those who drew up the *Rationale*, left the consecration of the Font, accordingly, to be treated briefly below (in section 20) under the head of Easter Even.*

* Wheatley 338. 1st P.B. Ed. vi.; Maskell's *Holy Baptism*, 87.

Here then we have an instance of the importance attached to mere ceremonialism in connexion with material things which tended so much to obscure the true object of decent and orderly rites: to enter into explanations of these ceremonies would only result in drawing unnecessary attention to them, and adding to their already fictitious importance. Yet there was certainly no intention of slighting the really ancient part—the setting aside of the water for sacred purposes—which evidently was intended to be retained; for even when the service books were revised and the first Prayer book of Edward VI. put out, the invocation of the Holy Spirit, for the sanctifying of the water, was retained; and although omitted for a time, it was restored to us at the last review, 1662, in the prayer, "Almighty and Everlasting God . . . Sanctify this water to the mystical washing of sin. . . ."

same¹ to their pastor or curate, which were yet to be used, if that any such would desire to receive baptism, but^a [for so much as the old ancient church even from the apostles'^b time hath used and yet useth to baptize infants and children, which for lack of age cannot be instructed, therefore] the priest shortly expresseth there such instruction,^c and then chargeth the godfathers and godmothers,² further[more] to teach [to] the child or children when they come to lawful age, and *then* beginneth to make a cross upon the forehead of the child,³ that is offered to be baptized, in tokening that he is come to be professed and totally to be dedicated to Christ crucified, whom he will never be ashamed openly before men to confess and knowledge.

^d Then he maketh another cross upon the breast, from whence cometh the belief, signifying that it is not enough to confess Christ with mouth openly unless he doth steadfastly believe in heart inwardly,^e and therefore the minister prayeth Almighty God to take away the blindness of his heart and to make him apt to receive [the] grace given in baptism.

And then he putteth hallowed salt into his mouth to signify the spiritual salt, which is the word of God, wherewith he should be seasoned and powdered that thereby the filthy savour of stinking sin should^f be taken away preserving him from corruption and making him a more apt vessel to continue *in*^g the moisture of wholesome and godly wisdom, and therefore the minister prayeth that he may

^a "But in Baptism of infants which for lack of age cannot be instructed," etc. *Cleop.* f. 270.
^b f. 170^b.

^c 'instructions' *Cleop.* f. 270.

^d f. 171.

^e [Rom. x. 8-11.]

^f 171^b

^g The MSS. should probably read 'contain' for 'conteynewe in': (*L*). *Cleop.*

Cf. J. de Burgo, *Pupilla Oculi*, pars. ii. cap. 7. 'Est autem cathecismus instructio neophiti,' etc. The entire chapter (De exorcismo, et cathecismo et vstituto modo baptizandi) must have been familiar to the author of this section of the Book of Ceremonies. *Cf.* Durandus, Bk. vi. ch. lxxxii.

¹ Render the same.] *Redditio Symboli*. See L. Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, (transl. M. L. McClure) 1904, 304-5, 332, 575.

² Charge to godfathers: *Manuale* Ebor, &c., 17, 11*: Maskell, *Mon. Rit.* i. 15 ('Godfadyrs and godmodys of thys chylde,' etc).

³ Cross on forehead, and on the breast: *Manuale*, 5, 8*. Salt; *id.* 6, 9*, *Cf.* 7. *Obluti sunt*: *Manuale*, 9, 10*. Maskell, *Monum. Rit.* 1-11.

^a 'with heavenly food,' *Cleop.* f. 270.

be replenished^a with his heaven food,^a and that he receiving this grace of baptism may obtain everlasting reward.

^b f. 172.

Then the minister maketh a sign of the cross in the child's forehead, adjuring the devil to depart, and no more to approach to him, but to knowledge his sentence of damnation and to give glory unto God,^b and to Jesus Christ which triumphed upon the cross over him in his own person, praying that this child now^c purged from the wicked spirit may be the sanctified temple of the Holy Ghost. After this is read the gospel taken out of Matthew the xix chapter beginning "Oblati sunt Jesu pueri," wherein is showed that the oblation of young children is acceptable unto Christ, of whose Church without baptism they cannot be made members; wherefore the people according to this example offereth their children to the minister to be baptized.

^c 'new' : *L.*

^d f. 172b.

^d Then the minister wetteth with spittle the nose thurles and ears of him that shall be baptized putting us in remembrance of the miracle of the deaf and dumb wrought by Christ who looking up in to heaven put^e his spittle with his fingers into the^f ears and touching his tongue said Ephthatha,¹ that is to say, be opened and so he healed him signifying thereby the grace and godly influence descending from heaven which by the operation of the Holy Ghost openeth our nose to take the sweet^g odour and savour² of the knowledge of Christ and our ears to hear his word[s] and commandments. ^h Then the minister exhorteth the godfathers and godmothers with all other that are present to pray to God that that child may worthily receive thatⁱ blessed sacrament of baptism to the

^e 'putteth,' *Cleop.* f. 271.

^f 'to his,' *Cleop.* f. 271

^g 'sawly' or, just conceivably, 'savory' obscurely written in *L.*
^h 'swete,' *Cleop.* f. 173.

ⁱ 'the' *Cleop.* f. 271.

Ff. 172-5 in the Lambeth MS. are written in different hand-writing, which Mrs. Lomas describes as 'more like an exchequer hand.' These leaves are 'signed' at the foot with the series of letters **J**, **G**, **H**, **Z**. But on f. 174 "**Z**" was at first written, altered to "**H**," and on f. 175 the 'signature' "**H**" in like manner is corrected to "**Z**." f. 176, which follows, is duly signed "**R**."

¹ 'Effeta, quod est adaperire : ' *Manuale*, 18, 10.*

² 'In odorem suavitatis : ' vide loc. cit.

honour of God [and] to the salvation of the soul and [to the] confusion of our ghostly enemy the devil and so the minister and all they together say^a the pater noster, &c. Then immediately the minister maketh the sign of the cross in the right hand of the infant which cross *should* in all our life time admonish us valiantly to^b defend resist and withstand the crafty assaults of our enemy the devil with^c all our corrupt and perverse affections and desires, ^dand so blessing the child in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, taketh it by the right hand and biddeth it enter into the Church there to be admitted as one of Christ's flock and congregation and so proceedeth to the font.

a 'saith' *Cleop.* f. 271.

b 'defend' inserted as a correction in *L.*

c 'and,' *Cleop.* f. 271.
d f. 173^b.

And there entering into^e the Baptism, first, inquisition is made of the name of him that should be baptized¹ to the intent that by giving in his name he may now profess himself to a new master Christ for of a custom such professions were made by such inscriptions and giving in of their names.

e 'towards' *Cleop.* f. 272.

^fThen there² followeth a stipulation² made under

ff. 174.
g 'there': added as a correction in *L.*

¹ 'Quid vocaris? Respondeant patrini, N.' u.s. 14* n.

² Tyndal (1528) fancied, somewhat strangely that it was from the answer '*Volo*' which sponsors had to say in reply to the question '*Vis baptizari?*' (ibid), that illiterate folk had come to speak of christening as '*volowing*,' because "the priest sayth '*Volo*, say ye.' The childe was *well volowed* (they say); yea and our vicar is as fayre a *volower* as ever a priest within this 20 miles." Tyndal, *Obedience of a Christian man*; Works, 153; (Parker Soc.) i. 253, 276; iii. 72. We do not vouch for Tyndal's etymology. John the Baptist is called 'a folower' (i.e. baptiser) in Mirk's *Festial*, E. E. T. S. 1905, p. 245, and the glossary gives instances of the verb to 'folow,' *p.p.* 'fulowed,' etc., occurring in the same work. Bosworth (A. S. Glossary) gives the verb "*fullian, fulligan, fulwian*, to make white, as a fuller does, to baptise: *albare, candidum facere, baptizare*. A word of doubtful origin." Skeat (*Concise Dict.*) suggests that the A. S. substantive *fullere*, a bleacher, may possibly be allied to Lat. *in-fula*, a white fillet; but at the same time he bids us connect *fullo*, a fuller or felter, who thickens cloth by beating etc., with O. F. *fouler*, to trample, to which sense of our word '*full*' he assigns a distinct place in etymology. With the sense of cleansing, or whitening, we may, perhaps, connect the obsolete term "*fulling-taper*," which occurs occasionally in old churchwardens' accounts; e.g. in those of *St. Edmund's, Salisbury* (Edd. Swayne and Straton, 1896), where in

^a 'Sureties': *Cleop.*

^{b-c} In *Cleop.* f. 272, this is a marginal note in a different hand-writing, which Strype apparently mistook for Gardiner's. A specimen of Gardiner's hand-writing may be seen in BM: Cotton MSS. *Cleop.* E. vi. 300.

This page (f. 272) in *Cleop.* E. v. is written by the same hand as that which wrote the interlineation. 'And if it chanceth the same to be polluted . . . again,' on f. 269 ^b. (See p. 5, section [3] above.)

prescript words the minister demanding certain questions, and he that is baptized or his surety^a making answer to every question or demand particularly, ^b *'Which demands questions and answers (to the intent the godfather and god-mother with others there present may know what is a Christian man's profession at his baptism) we think it very convenient and meet¹ to be uttered hereafter in the English tongue^c, and first to this interrogation of the minister.*

The minister saith, forsakest thou the devil. He or his sureties for him answereth, I forsake him.

1442-3 there is a charge of 13s. 6d. '*pro factura le ffontaper et ffullingtaper.*' (p. 357). Mrs. Straton (p. xiv), would connect the *fulling-taper* with *Purification post partum*, but was in doubt whether it was (*a*) the taper mentioned in the Douay editions of the *Ordo ad purificandum mulierem* (1604, 1610) in the *Sarum Manuale*, which notes that '*mulier ad purificationem accedens, caput habeat secundum antiquam Angliae consuetudinem coopertum velo albo, in manu portet candelam accensam, et sit media inter duas matronas;*' and thus at Trinity Church, Coventry, according to the parish clerks' constitutions of 1462, the Second Deacon had to 'delyuer to the churching off women a tapur and bred for woly brede.' *Clerks Book*, ed. J. W. Legg, p. 63;—or (*b*) "the painted taper, used at the feast of the Purification, and symbolical of the 'Light to lighten the Gentiles,'" (p. xiv). In their account for the year ended 3 May, 1555, the churchwardens of Stanford-in-the-Vale, Berks, included among expenses, "for ye pascall, tryndull, christening taper and fonnt taper agayns Ester, vj. s. ij. d. Item for watching the sepulture, viij. d." May we not conclude that what was called the 'fulling taper' in the 15th cent. was what was known as the 'christening taper' in the 16th? Cf. *Salisbury Ceremonies*, 84, 86, for the font-taper, and the picture from the *Art of Good Lyvinge* (Verard 1503) re-produced at p. 190 in Gasquet's *Parish Life in mediæval England* (Methuen, 1906), for a taper at a christening. For *panis benedictus* at churchings in England see the rubric in *York Manual* (Surtees Soc.) p. 23. Mr. W. H. St. John Hope supports us with his opinion that "fulling = followynge = baptizing. Therefore (*pace* the New English Dictionary) the font-taper and fulling taper' should be one and the same."

¹ It had already been usual for the parish priest to teach the sacramental form itself of baptism to lay folk, "I christene the(e) *N.*" etc., so that they might baptize in case of emergency. Maskell *Mon. Rit.* i. 31. But the *Supplication of the Poor Commons* to Hen. VIII. in 1546, complains against the clergy that "they baptize oure childern in the Latyne tong, beding us say *volo* and *credo*, when we know not what it is that they demand of us," ed. E.E. Text Soc. (J. M. Cowper), 1871, p. 90.

The minister saith, And all his works, it is answered, I forsake them.

The minister saith, And all his pomps and vanities, The answer is, I forsake them.^a

^b After this the minister with [the] holy oil anointeth the child before upon the breast and behind between^c the shoulders which unction upon the breast signifyeth that our heart and affection[s] should be wholly dedicate[d] to Christ and established in a perfect faith in his mercy which the oil commonly doth^d signify in scripture. And the anointing between the shoulders with the sign of the cross signifyeth that we should be *steadfast* stout^e and strong to bear the yoke of our Lord and patiently^f to sustain such cross of persecution trouble and affliction as our most merciful Lord shall lay upon us.

Then further the minister maketh inquisition of his belief *that is to be christened* saying, Believest thou in God the Almighty Father maker of heaven and earth: It is answered, I believe.

The minister saith, Believest thou in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord. The answer is *made*, I believe.

The minister saith, Believest thou in the Holy Ghost the holy Catholic^g Church; ^hthe communion of Saints, the remission of sins, the resurrection of the body and after death to have life everlastingⁱ. It is answered, I believe.

All which promise[s] and profession[s] of renouncing the old error and believing and embracing the truth made in baptism every Christian man ought to have in his often remembrance, and after this the minister saith to^k him that is *to be* baptized these words.

What askest thou. It is answered, ^lBaptism. The minister demandeth further saying. Wilt thou be baptized, It is answered, I will. For there is no man saved against his will but willingly. For as *a* man by his own free will obeying the serpent did perish, so when God calleth by grace by the conversion of his own mind, every man truly believing *and intending to work accordingly*^m is saved.

Then the minister calleth the child by the name and baptizeth it in the name of the Father and [of] the Son

a 'hym': L.

b f. 174^b.

c 'betwixt,' Cleop. f. 272.

d 'doth common-ly,' Cleop. f. 273.

e 'bold,' Cleop. f. 273.
f f. 175.

g 'Catholique' in-terlin. L.
h f. 175^b.

i 'everlasting life,' Cleop. f. 273.

k 'unto,' Cleop. f. 273.

l f. 176.

(Here the hand-writing in L. changes back to the first hand.)

m 'working' was first written in Cleop., then expanded as in text.

f. 176b.

and of the Holy Ghost, putting it into the water ^a of the font and taking it out again, *or else pouring water upon the infant*¹ whereby the person christened hath not only remission of all his sins by the operation of the Holy Ghost, but also by the same is signified [not only] the death and resurrection of Christ, the only cause of our health and salvation but also ^b that we should daily mortify our evil desires and corrupt affections,^c and *so washed from sin* walk in a new, pure and godly life and conversation.

^b 'and moreover,'
Cleop. f. 273.

^c 'and corruption'
first written in *L.*
then altered as in
text.

^d 'this,' *Cleop.* f.
273.

^e 'an' (*sic*) *L.*

^f 'the' *L.*

^g f. 177.

Then after his^d baptism, he is anointed with holy chrism, on the head as the supreme and principal part of man, signifying thereby that he is made an^e Christian man by [Christ] the head of his^f congregation; ^gand that he is anointed with the spiritual unction of the Holy Ghost, that by his assistance and grace he may attain^h everlasting life.

^h 'obtain,' *Cleop.*
f. 274.

Then he that is baptized is clothed in a white vesture, in token of his manumission² and freedom from the former captivity of the devil, and it signifyeth also a Christian purity and Innocency, which after the washing away of the spots of his old sin, he ought studiously to conserve and keep, and so to come to the ⁱpresence of Christ at the day of Judgement and reign with him in glory everlasting.

i f. 177b.

Finally the minister putteth a candle light in the right hand of him that is baptized, in token that he should through all his life time show before all men a light of good example and godly works, that he may be always in a readiness with the saints to meet our Lord and receive the fruition of everlasting joy.

¹ 'Quando consuetudo ecclesie hoc patitur, vel quando necessitas incumbit . . . sufficit quod caput aspergatur,' &c. Lyndewood *Provinciale*, lib. iii. tit. 24; p. 242, ed. Oxon. Cf. J. de Burgo, *Pupilla Oculi*, pars II. cap. 4. (De materia congrua baptismi).

² Manumission: The idea that Baptism is a deliverance from servitude is expressed by S. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech.* iv. So *Abp. Hamilton's Catechism*, 1551, (The Ceremonies of Baptyme) "Last of al, y^e barne that is baptizit is cled with ane quhite lynning claith, callit ane Cude, quhilk betakens that . . . he is brocht to the libertie of the holy spreit." f. 132. Bingham cites Gregory of Nyssa, *Homil.* iii. *de Resurrectione* (Op. iii. 420) and *Codex Justiniani* iii. tit. 12 *de feriis*; also *Cod. Theodos.* ii. tit. 8 leg. 1.; on the custom of manumitting slaves at Eastertide, and the legality of doing so on Sundays. *Antiq. Eccl.* xx. 5, sectt. 6, 7; xx. 2, sec. 2.

[5.] ^a MINIST(RI).¹

The ceremonies observances and prayers said and done in the consecrations of Bishops, and giving orders to priests, deacons, sub-deacons, and other inferior ministers, as heretofore hath been [always] accustomed, and as it is devised in *the* books called pontificals² (all manner of things concerning *the pretended and usurped power of* the bishop of Rome abolished and utterly put aside,³ and the king's most right and true supremity with all things to the same in any wise appertaining and belonging, always preserved and obeyed) be very laudable and expedient to be used, for by these ceremonies and observances every man^b in his order, state, and degree, is admonished what appertaineth to their offices, and the prayers be made to God, that they truly, sincerely, and devoutly may use the ministration to them committed to God's honour, spiritual comfort of themselves and all other Christian people [according to the same].

a f. 178.
'Mynysters.' *Cleop.*
E. v. f. 274;
'Ordering of the
ministers of the
church in general.'
id. f. 267 (in
summary, p. 1,
above.)

b f. 178^b.

[6.] SERVIC(IVM).^c

The service used in the Church daily in some places or upon the Sundays and other feasts in all places, that is to say [to have] matins, prime, hours, evensong, and compline,⁴ whereof the most part^d is of scripture, as the psalms, and many times the legends (certain things added by man well reformed) are very godly and expedient^e both for that the ministers prayeth and giveth thanks to God for

c 'Service in the
Church,' *Cleop.* f.
275; 'Divine Ser-
vice to be said and
sung in the church.'
(in summary).
'Matins, prime and
other hours.' *id.* f.
267; p. 1, above.
d f. 179.
e 'expedient and
godly,' *Cleop.* f.
275.

¹ *Ministri*: See Durandus, Bk. II, ch. i.

² Books called Pontificals: *Lib. Pontif. Lacy*, 5—102; Maskell, *Mon. Rit.* II. pp. lxxxvii—cxlii; 164—249; *Alcuin Club Collections* iii. and iv. (folio) and viii. and xii. (8vo). edd. W. H. Frere, F. C. Eeles and A. Riley.

³ Bishop of Rome: Cf. The Ecclesiastical Appointments Act, Restraint of Annates, Election of Bishops, &c. Act, 25 Hen. VIII. c. 20 (1534); Gee and Hardy, *Documents*, 201—9. Also the Supremacy Act (*eodem anno*) *ib.* 243. Proclamation 9 June, 1534.

⁴ Matins, prime, &c. See *Breviarium ad usum Sarum*, ed. Cantab. 1879—86, fascic. II, pp. xviii, xix; fascic. III, pp. xxix—xxxiv, cxxxi; *et passim*. Cf. Durandus, Bk. V, *passim*.

themselves and for the people, And also that by the example of their prayers, they move and excite the people to pray with them. And therefore, for the adorning of the same service, Surplices, Copes and other vestures¹ and ceremonies in the doing thereof are very laudable and comely.

The *sober*, discreet and devout singing, music² and playing with organs used in the church, for the service of God^a are ordained to move and stir the people to the sweetness of God's word *the which is* there sung^b, and by that sweet [h]armony³ both to excite them to prayers and devotion and also *to* put them in remembrance, of the heavenly triumphant church, where is everlasting joy with continual laud and praise *to God*.

^a f. 179^b.

^b 'and not understood,' *erased*, perhaps by another hand but apparently with the same ink.

^c This section does not occur in this place in *Cleop.* E. v. (at f. 275), but see section [18], p. 36, below.

[7.] [OLEUM CHRISMATIS.^c

The use of holy oil and chrism 'is convenient and laudable to be observed, for it signifyeth principally the Imperial and priestly dignity of Christ and his anointing

¹ Surplices: See W. H. Frere, *Use of Sarum*, i. pp. 310—11 (index) s.v. *Superpellicium*. Copes: *ibid.* pp. 282—3, s.v. *Capa*. Also, other vestures:—*Alba*, p. 278; *Amictus*, p. 279. *Cirotheca*, *Mitra*; *Dalmatica*, *Tunica*, *Stola* (incidentally, p. 71); *Pileolus*. Cf. D. Rock, *Church of our Fathers* (ed. 1903) i. pp. 256—409.

² Singing, music: See *Graduale Sarisberiense*, ed. W. H. Frere; *Antiphonale Sarisburiense*, and other publications of the Plainsong and Mediæval Music Soc. Also the *Tonale* in Frere's *Use of Sarum*, ii. pp.-j lxxix. (app.)

³ armonye:

For al my chambre gan to ringe
Through singing of hir armonye.

Chaucer, *The Book of the Duchesse*, li. 315-13.

⁴ *Oleum Chrismatis*: see 'Officium in die Cene' (Maundy Thursday) in Lacy's *Pontifical*, 60-75; 'Oleum Infirmorum: Oleum Sanctum, Sanctum Crisma,' *Salisbury Ceremonies and Processions*, C. Wordsworth, 72, 73, 165. Rock, *Church of our Fathers* (1903) ii. 365-70; Cf. Durandus, Bk. VI, ch. lxxiv, *in fine*, iv. 89-94; *Use of Sarum*. i. 201; Maskell, *Mon. Rit.* (1882), I. pp. cclxix-lxxii; cclxxxii-xciii, For burning the old oil, see below at § 18, where this passage occurs again in *L.* (See pp. 2, 35).

^a with the spiritual unction of the Holy Ghost above all creatures, and secondarily the defacing and abolishing of all the consecrations of the old law which were dedicate in oil, and therefore in Cena Domini the old oil is burnt and destroyed and new consecrated, signifying thereby, the new regeneration of Christ, and the holy inunction which we have by his spirit, and it admonisheth us of our state and condition which we have by Christ, for as of Chrisma Christ is named, so of Christ we be called Christians. In figure whereof kings priests and prophets^b were anointed to put them in remembrance also of brightness of conscience and sweet odour of fame^c to God's glory and edifying of their neighbour.]

a f. 180.

b f. 180b.

[8.]^c CEREMONIES USED² IN THE MASS.^d

For so much^e as divers goeth about to reprehend the Mass and as much as in them is to withdraw Christ's flock from hearing thereof, taking it as a thing of a little and small value and the ceremonies of the same for a mocking and a momming calling them also dumb ceremonies,³ therefore to the intent *that* the mass may be the more regarded and the mouths of such as caluminate and reprehend the same stopped, it is to be understood that the mass is a remembrance of the passion of Christ whose most blessed body and blood is there consecrate and the ceremonies thereof be not dumb but they be expressives and declaratives of the same passion, to the intent that by such signs and ceremonies they that be^f present thereat may the better be admonished and reduced in to memory of the same.

And first it is to be understanden that the priest is a common minister in the name and stead of the whole

c f. 181.

^d The titles of the sections, except in the case of Baptism, have hitherto been in Latin, they are subsequently given in English in MS. *Cleop.* E. v. (Cf. p. 1, *supra*).
^e 'Forasmuch':
Cleop. E. v.

f f. 181b.

¹ "Brightness of conscience and sweet odour of fame." Cf. the language of Card. Pole's decree 'ex oleo quod *nitorem* significat *conscientie*, et balsamo quod *odorem* significat *bone fame*.' Wilkins, *Concil.* iv. 795.

² 'Ceremonies used in the Mass:' Cf. Durandus, Bk. IV, *passim*.

³ Dumb ceremonies: Tyndale's, *Answer to Sir T. More* (1531) *Works*, iii. (Parker Soc.) pp. 9, 29.

^aThe *Lambeth*
MS. reads
'Mother,'

congregation and as the *mouth*^a of the same not only rendereth thanks unto God for Christ's death and passion, but also maketh the common prayers,¹ and commendeth the people and their necessities in the same to Almighty God.

^b 'his' erased in
Cleop. f. 276.

The priest therefore when he shall say [this^b] mass saith it not in his common apparel which he daily useth, but putteth upon him clean and hallowed vestments,² partly representing^c the mysteries that were done in the time of the passion, partly representing the virtues that he himself ought to have that celebrates the mass.

^c f. 182.

^d 'the Face of
Christe': *Cleop.*

And first he putteth on the amice which as touching the mystery signifyeth the veil with the which the Jews covered [his]^d face of *Christ* when they buffeted him in time of his passion and as touching the minister it signifyeth faith which is the head ground and foundation of *all virtues*, and therefore he putteth that upon his head first. Second he putteth upon him the alb which as touching the mystery signifyeth the white garment that which^e Herod clothed Christ in mocking^f when he sent him [again] to Pilate.^g And as touching the minister it signifyeth the pureness of conscience and innocency the which he ought to have especially when he singeth the mass.

^e 'wherewith,'
Cleop. f. 276.
^f 'mockage':
Cleop.
^g f. 182b.

¹ On the meaning of '*Common Prayer*' see an article by Rev. F. E. Brightman in the *Journal of Theol. Studies*, 1909, x. 497-528. "Perhaps, '*the Common Prayer*' is here the bidding of the bedes." p. 517.

² On the priest's vesture, see J. Lydgate's *Vertue of the Masse*, cited in Simmons' *Layfolks Mass-Book*, p. 167, and included as no. iii. in Huth's *Fugitive Tracts*, 1st. Series, 1875; *Meditations for Ghostly Exercise in the Time of the Mass* by B. Langforde, cited by Simmons' ed., u. s. p. 168, and included in Dr. J. W. Legg's *Tracts on the Mass* H. B. S. 8vo. 1904 pp. 19-21, 237; Alcuin Club Collections v., the Flemish '*Booklet of the Mass*' by the brother Gherit Vander Goude, 1507, ed. P. Dearmer, (1903) pp. 2-5. For the English version '*The interpretacyon and signyfycacion of the Masse*. . . . composed and ordeyned by frere Garade, frere mynoure of the ordre of the Observautes, printed by Ro. Wyer, 8 Oct. 1532,' B. Mus. c. 25-c. 21 of which there is also an imperfect copy in the Bradshaw Collection Camb. Univ. Lib., see Dearmer, u.s. pp. iv, x-xii., 141-5.

The girdle as touching the mystery signifyeth the whip or scourge wherewith Christ was whipped, and as touching the minister it signifyeth the continent and chaste living or else the close mind which he ought to have in prayer[s] when he celebrates.

[The¹ phanon^a which the minister weareth upon his left arm, as concerning the mystery it representeth unto us a cord or a strong bond wherewith the cruel Jews tied our^b Saviour Christ's left arm, when they had taken him in the garden, and so led him to Annas; and as concerning the minister it doth admonish him that by ghostly strength and godly diligence he ought to endeavour himself that he may vanquish and overcome all carnal infirmity proceeding from all sinister privity^c and inclination to sin.]

The stole as touching the mystery, signifyeth the ropes or bonds that Christ was bound with to the pillar when he was scourged and as touching the minister it signifyeth the yoke of patience, which he must bear as the servant of God, *in token whereof he putteth also the phanon upon his arm which admonisheth him of ghostly strength and godly patience he ought to have to vanquish and overcome all carnal infirmity.*

^d The overvesture or chasuble as touching the mystery

^a *Cleop.* omits this paragraph, of the fanon (or maniple) here, but gives the substance of it in the next paragraph. b f. 183.

^c *The scribe has written 'proivity.'*

^d f. 183^b.

¹ The phanon: i.e. *manipulus*. 'Fanel's' or 'Fannons' were sometimes expressly mentioned by this name in inventories, along with Stoles (e.g. *Salisbury Processions and Ceremonies*, p. 165, or were indicated by the latin name, *manipuli*,¹ id. pp. 174, 179), but very often they were included tacitly in such general comprehensive terms as 'secta' ('suit', 'set'), *par vestimentorum* (or *casula*) *cum apendiciis*, etc. For prayers at vesting, and mystical interpretations of the use of the maniple and other vestments, see Dr. Legg's *Tracts on the Mass* (H. B. Soc. 1904) pp. 3, 20, 21, 34, 222; cf. 252.

² The pillar: In the *Informacion for Pylgrymes* printed by W. de Worde in 1498, among pylgrymages, wythin the cyte of Jerusalem. . . . in the sepulchre chirche of our lord . . . on the ryght honde of the awter there is a wyndowe in whiche stondyth a pyllar to the Whyche Criste was bounden and beten wyth scourges in Pilate's hous. with indulgence of vij. 'yeres and vij. lentes' (ed. E. G. Duff, 1893, cf. 17b.). Cf. the 'Image of Pity' and Mass of S. Gregory, plates i. ii. v-viii. appended to *Directorium Sacerdotum* (H. Bradshaw Soc.) ii. (1901). *Voyage and Travaille of Sir. J. Maundevile* cap. vii., ed. 1869, pp., 77-8, where 4 other pillars are mentioned. The Pillar of the Flagellation was shown at Jerusalem in the 4th century. *Itinerarium Burdigalense*, (In ed. *Palestine Pilgrims' Text Soc.*, i. p. 23); St Jerome, *Ep.* cviii. (*ad Eustochium* 9).

^a 'Christ,' *Cleop.*
f. 277.
^b [Col. iii. 14.]

signifyeth the purple mantle that Pilate's soldiers put on him^a after that they had scourged him, and as touching the minister it signifyeth charity, a virtue excellent above all other.

^c f. 184.

The minister the which shall celebrate, in the beginning cometh *forth* as it were from some secret place [as out of the vestry or from the altar's end]¹ to the midst of the altar signifying thereby that Christ which is the high priest came from the secret bosom of his Father and virginal cloister^c of his mother in to this world to offer sacrifice for man's redemption. And albeit that that sacrifice be a sufficient price and redemption for all the world, yet it is not efficient or effectual but only to them which knowledgeth themselves with penance to be sinners whom he came to justify as he saith himself. Non veni vocare justos sed peccatores.² Therefore the minister in the beginning teacheth all men by *his* confession to humiliate and knowledge themselves^d sinners and to ask remission to the intent they may be the more apt to be participant^e of this high mystery. Nam ^fjustus in principio accusator est sui.

^d 'themselves': *L.*,
^e 'to participate,'
Cleop. f. 278.
^f ['*Justus, prior est accusator sui*']
Prov. xviii. 17
(Vulg.)]
^g f. 184^b.
^h 'of,' *Cleop.* f.
278.

^g Then after this followeth Kyrie eleison and Christe eleison which be words to^h desire and to pray God for mercy which mercy we cannot have of our deserts but of

¹ 'The vestry': See [Dr. J. W. Legg, *Tracts on the Mass* (H. Bradshaw Soc. 1904) p. 19; *Booklet of the Mass*, ed. P. Dearmer, pp. xii., 3, 9. Vestries formerly were rare in English parish churches. T. F. Simmons, *Layfolks Mass-Book* (E. E. Text Soc. 1879) pp. 164-6 n. 'The altar's end': where the priest might find his vestments to put on; *in cornu evangelii*. T. F. Simmons, *u. s.* The *locus* [*ad ministracionis*, or place of preparation of the elements (so called in *Sarum Consuetudinary*, ed. W. H. Frere, *Use of Sarum*, i. p. 71) is supposed to have been, usually, at the south-end of the altar. See Dr. J. W. Legg, *on the time when the Elements are prepared*, etc. (St. Paul's Eccl. Soc. Transactions, iii. 73, &c.) *Directorium Sacerdotum*, ed. H.B. Soc., ii. plate. Cf. *Booklet* u.s. p. 55. (See also *id.* p. 40;). For a bench to the north of the altar, used as a credence, see *Booklet*, p. 63. For a commentary of the service, see *The Noble Historye of the exposition of the Masse* at the end of Caxton's *Golden Legend* (ed. Kelmscot Press, iii. 1247 and 1272; Temple Classics, vii. 225-262.) 'Cloister': '*virginalis clausula*', Brev. Sarum, i. p. vi; ii. p. 307.

² '*Non veni*' &c., Mark ii. 17; Luke v. 32.

God's goodness and Christ's merits only, and therefore the minister, proceeding to the midst of the altar, rendereth the glory unto God, singing the angels' *hymn and song*, Gloria in excelsis Deo, that is to say, glory be toⁱ [Almighty]^j God *in heaven*, whereby we be learned not only to know that we receive all our benefits of God being bound to give him thanks therefore, but also the means whereby we receive them which is by the mediation of Christ, that is both God and man, by whom the Father^a is pleased, man reconciled, and angels and man agreed.

Then this song done the minister and the people with salutations exhort each other to prayer in which he prayeth as well for the multitude as for himself and therefore it is called collecta and it is directed to the Father and *commonly* concluded by these words¹ per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum etc [etc] which showeth and declareth unto us that we be only heard by Christ and that our prayer is by him valuable and by ourselves^b without him of no value and when the prayer is ended the people^c expresseth their desirous minds to be heard and answereth Amen which signifyeth, so be it.

^d After *that* prayer^e made [for grace, lauds and thanks given to God for the same] then the priest as a meet minister to teach the people readeth to them the epistle which is a lesson taken out of the old and new testament [teaching them to prepare themselves to mortification and crucifying of their sensual appetites with Christ] and it precedeth the Gospel and prepareth *the minds* thereunto *like* as Saint John prepared unto Christ or^e [as] the *old law* unto grace; and Christ sent his disciples into divers places to preach before his coming^f whereby they^g should be made more apt to receive the *heavenly doctrine of the Gospel and with a true faith believe the* ^h reward and benefit^h promised [after] in the gospel^j. [Then] next to the epistle ensueth the grail the which teacheth [them] *also* [to work] that^k wholesome

i 'unto,' Cleop. f. 278.

j 'Almighty,'
erased in Cleop. f. 278.

'In Heaven' inserted above the line in another hand.
a f. 185.

b 'our selfe': L.,
and Cleop.

c 'expresses':
Cleop.

d f. 185^b.

e 'and,' Cleop. f. 279.

f [St. Luke, x. 1.]
g 'the people,'
Cleop. f. 279.

h 'rewards and
benefits,' Cleop. f. 279.

j 'in the same,'
Cleop. f. 279.

k 'such,' Cleop. f. 279.

¹ For the memorial lines "Per Dominum dicas," etc., (*de conclusione oracionum, sive collectarum*), see *Brev. Sarum* fasc. ii. p. 363. Cf. *ib.* fasc. i. pp. vii., xxxvii. For the lines '*Si collecta Patrem*' etc. See *Directorium Sacerdotum* (ed. H. B. Soc.) ii. 616.

j f. 186.

^a 'to virtue' *interlin. L.*

[Ps. lxxxiv. 7.]

^b 'And therefore followeth,' *Cleop. f. 279.*

[Gal. v. 24.]

^c 'called the' *interlin. Cleop.*

^d 'yow'

^{e-f} 'both to admonish us to remember God with a glad mind and also with such mind to prepare ourselves to the hearing of the gospel and the joyful promises of the same,' *Cleop. ff. 279, 279^b.*

^g 'Then followeth the Godspell': *L. f. 186^b.*

^h 'News' *Cleop. f. 279.*

^j 'Christ's' *Cleop. f. 279.*

^k 'prone,' *Cleop. f. 279.*

doctrine *as was* taught before in the^j epistleⁱ that they proceeding in virtue by degrees may proceed from virtue^a to virtue until such time as they may see Almighty God in his glory: ^b [because it is very laborious and painful thus a man to crucify his sensual affections living according to God's commandments therefore the Church mixeth the heaviness and trouble with] a song of gladness called the^c Alleluia, that is to say, laud ye^d God^e [admonishing them thereby to rejoice in this trouble, being certain that after their heaviness they shall receive everlasting joy^f.]

^g Then followeth the gospel, which is a glad message or tidings, for in it is contained the glad tidings^f of our salvation, the which [glad tidings] the angels showed to the shepherds at his^j coming saying, Ecce evangelizo vobis gaudium magnum etc [etc]² and therefore *the church* with light[s] and other ceremonies of gladness and peace, readeth it to the people standing up diligently to hear the same, declaring thereby their prompt^k and ready minds that they have to the doctrine of the gospel.³ And forasmuch as

¹ Here (at f. 186) in the Lambeth MS. is another change of writing. The writing of ff. 186-189 is probably not that of a professional scribe. The first three lines of f. 186 are verbally the same as in *Cleop. E. v* but the person who was putting MS. L. together may have wished to make a change here and for the sake of neatness rejected the whole of the draft he had before him up to f. 190 and inserted clean paper (with a different watermark) and then copied out the first three lines of f. 186 and proceeded to make his variations. Or else the scribe who is putting the MS. together has incorporated some parts of the original drafts, e.g., ff. 172-175; 186-189. The writing of f. 185 begins again at f. 190. Fol. 186 is written in an exceedingly characteristic hand, but its writer has not as yet been identified. The formation of letter *g* is noticeable. We give a facsimile of this passage—so much of it as is possible—from one page of each of the two MSS. of the *Rationale*.

² 'Ecce evangelizo,' &c. St. Luke, ii. 10.

³ Instances of the (Epistle and) Gospel being read in two languages (in Egypt, Syria, Constantinople, Rome and Paris) at least on certain occasions, are noted by W. E. Scudamore, *Notitia Eucharistica* (1876) 243-4. T. F. Simmons shows that the like was done in other parts of France in the 10th century, *Lay Folks Mass Book*, 210 n. (1). He argues from the silence of Abp. Peckham's constitution '*Ignorantia Sacerdotum*,' and other authorities that this was not an English custom before the time of Henry VIII, when a correspondent of the Duke of Norfolk (possibly Sir T. Boleyn) described in a letter, cir. 1531, the reading of the Gospel in Latin by the Priest, and in German

now is a leſſer taken oute of the ſtre and newe ſpamant and
 is providing the ſtuff and ſpawing the money ſpent
 like as Simon John prepared unto Jeſus and the othe
 lawe unto him And Jeſus ſent his diſciples into ſundry
 places to preach in ſuch his comyng to ſerue the people
 ſunder he made more apt to deſigne the gentiles
 to deſigne of the baptiſme and in a ſhort ſpace of time the
 ſeminarie and baptiſme of many in the ſame.

Next to the Epistle, ſuſpect the Beatitude the way
 ſeeking alſo ſome gooden deſigne and read ſome of the
 in the Epistle that they ſhould be in ſuch a deſire
 may ſeek from ſuch a deſire to ſuch a deſire ſuch a deſire
 may ſeek alſo to god in his glory And the ſame
 ſlowly it ſeemeth of gladnes ^{in the} alle luſt that it is to
 ſuch a deſire of god both to and manneſſe to be ſuch a deſire
 god is a good manne And alſo it ſeemeth to ſuch a deſire

faith springeth of the word of^a God therefore divers days
the church (after the gospel read) pronounceth with a loud

^af. 187.

[Rom. x. 17.]

by the Deacon, at Nürnberg, apparently as a novelty to the writer and the recipient of the letter [*id.* 211 n. (1)]. On the other hand Dr. Gasquet would infer from the existence of several MSS. exhibiting (*seriatim* or otherwise) the liturgical epistles and gospels in the English tongue, that such books were used not merely for study or for following the lections, and for the preparation of sermons, or for the time of their delivery by way of exposition, but also for the actual liturgical recitation of the Holy Gospel, etc. for the day. *The Old English Bible* (1897) 151. In 1534, Dec. 19, the Convocation petitioned King Henry VIII. to make provision for an authorised English version of the Bible, and in 1536 his proclamation for uniformity encouraged the reading of the Bible by his subjects, (Wilkins *Concilia* iii. 776, 810). In the same year Crumwell issued the royal Injunction directing a 'Bible of the largest volume in English' to be set up in some convenient place in every church, and that the people should be taught the Creed, Lord's Prayer and Ten Commandments in English (*u.s.* iii. 815). In 1537 in London, and also in 1538 at Paris, 'Pystels and Gospels in Englyshe' were printed for general use; and in April 1539 Grafton and Whitchurch issued 'the Bybel in Englyshe' in folio.

Meanwhile, in 1537 (or 1536) while the *Institution of a Christian Man* was in forward preparation, Ed. Lee, Abp. of York, issued to the clergy in his own diocese among 31 injunctions several which relate to the use of the Bible and of the mother tongue. The 11th is: "all curates and Heades of Congregations, Religiousse and oder, Privileged and oder, shall everie Day reade the Gospell, and the Epistle of that Day out of the Englishe Byble pannelie and distinctlie. And they that have such grace shall make some Declaration, odre of the one, or of bothe, (if the time may serve) every Holy Day." (Burnet, part 3, Records, iii. no. 57; ed. N. Pocock, vi. 199-205). Injunctions of Rowland Lee, Bp. of Coventry and Lichfield were issued in a printed form (London, T. Berthelet) in 1538. These only number 14. They enjoin the public teaching of Pater, Ave and Creed every Sunday in Englishe from the pulpit 'at High Masse Tymes,' also four times a quarter the declaration of the Seven Deadly Sins, the Ten Commandments, and twelve times at least in the year, 'the essential maner and forme of Christeninges in Englishe.' The Pater, Ave, Creed and Decalogue were to be repeated to the priest before a man or woman should be admitted to receive the Sacrament of the altar. Nothing is said in these Lichfield Injunctions about reading of the Epistles and Gospels in either language; but the Bishop directed (no. 3) that in the quire of every parish church in his diocese, before the ensuing Pentecost, the parson or proprietary should provide and buy 'a Boke of the (w)hole Byble both in Latin and also in English,' for every man that will to read and look thereon, (*u.s.* iii. no. 58). It may be considered to be very questionable whether such injunctions met with any general acceptance. Not many church inventories or accounts of

voice the creed,^a expressing the faith with her mouth which before she conceived in her heart according to Saint Paul's saying Corde^a creditur ad justitiam, oris autem confessio fit ad salutem.

^a *Rom.* x. 10.

Then [after the symbol and mass creed] followeth the offertory, whereby we be learned to prepare ourselves^b by God's grace to be an acceptable oblation to him to the intent we may be partakers of the blessed sacrifice,^c which Christ offered for us upon the cross, at which time the minister^d laying the bread upon the altar, maketh the chalice² mixing the water with the wine, signifying thereby how that blood and water ran out of Christ's side in his passion, and admonisheth us of the inseparable coupling and joining of Christ and his church together.

^b 'oure selfe': *L.*

^c 'sacrifices':
Cleop. f. 280.

^d f. 187^b.

1535-40 are extant in which the practice in any diocese may be compared with the precepts issued by authority. Burnet has another document of this period. Nic. Shaxton, Bp. of Salisbury, put forth in the year 1538 an injunction requiring all who had cures, 'every Sunday and holy day to recite and sincerely declare in the pulpit in the high mass time in the English tongue both the Epistle and Gospel of the day, if there be time thereto, or else one of them at least.' (Burnet *Hist. Reform.* part II, Record no. 59, ed. N. Pocock, vi. p. 210). Cf. Bonner's Injunction of 1542, in Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii. 866. For the reading of a chapter after *Te Deum* and *Magnificat*, cf. *ibid.*, iii. 863. On the accession of K. Edward VI, the 21st Injunction directed that "in the time of high mass within every church he that saith or singeth the same, shall read or cause to be read the Epistle and Gospel of that mass in English and not in Latin, in the pulpit, or in such convenient place as the people may hear the same. And also every Sunday and holy day they shall plainly and distinctly read, or cause to be read, one chapter of the New Testament in English, in the said place at mattins immediately after the lessons," (3 of 9 Latin lessons being omitted) etc. (Cardwell, *Doc. Annals*, i. 13, 14.) But at Q. Elizabeth's coronation mass on Jan. 15th, 1559, according to Il Schifanoya's report, both languages were used: 'fu detto l' Epistola et l' Evangelio in englese doppo li cantati in latino.' See *Engl. Hist. Review*, xxiii. 533. (Rev. G. L. Ross). About 1530 it had still been necessary to procure a licence from the bishop of the diocese in order to make or to use an English translation of the Psalms or of any text of Holy Scripture. (*Myrroure of oure Ladye*, ed. 1873, pp. 3, 71.)

¹ 'Divers days . . . pronounceth . . . the creed': See *Missale Sarum*, 15.

² Maketh the chalice: See Dr. Legg's "Table showing the Liturgical moment of the *making the Chalice* in certain Western Rites before 1570," in *St. Paul's Eccl. Soc. Trans.* iii. 78-85, and his paper, *ibid.* 49-77.

Then after the offertory done¹ the priest washeth his hands knowledging himself not to be so clean, but that he hath ever need more to be washed according to the saying of David. Wash me Lord more and more² from my wickedness and cleanse me from my sin.

^a Then after followeth a prayer secretly said which is called the secret of the mass, and that signifyeth Christ's secret and privy conversation which he kept with his disciples a little before his passion, for after the *determinate* sentence of death conspired by Caiaphas and the Jews *against him* he walked no more amongst them openly but amongst his disciples secretly.^b

Next after the secret, followeth^c the preface which is a preloquution^d or prayer going before the most reverent consecration of Christ's body and blood, preparing the minds of the faithful people to the reverence of the same, and moving them to erect their hearts to Almighty God, giving him thanks for his ^e inestimable benefits *with desire*^f that their voice joined with the company of angels in one consent of laud and praise, proceeding as well from the church triumphant as militant unite and knit together, may without end sing this seraphical hymn and song, Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, to the laud of the blessed trinity whose glory replenisheth heaven and earth.

Then after this preface followeth the Canon which is said secretly of the priest, not [that] because it is unlawful to be heard, read or known of the people (as some [men] fantasy)³

^a f. 188.

^b [S. John, xi. 47-54.]

^c 'followeth,' omitted in *Cleop.* but inserted in another hand.
^d 'prolocution,' *Cleop* f. 280.

^e f. 188 ^b
^f 'desiring,' *Cleop.* f. 280.

¹ Nothing is said in this book about the sermon, which in England was usually preached after the offering (and the bidding of the bedes, on Sundays in parish churches). T. F. Simmons, *Lay Folks Mass-Book* 1879, p.p. 229, 315-19, 356; Maskell, *Ancient Liturgy*, ed. 1882, p. 70 n.; E. Burbidge, *Liturgies*, 1885, 70, 192, 203-4 n., 219-20.

² 'More and more': '*Amplius lava*,' Ps. 50 (Vulg.) 3.

³ Durandus, *Rat. Div.* iv. cap. 35, s. 7, and J. de Burgo, *Pupilla Oculi* part iv. c. 9 N; f. xxii. ed. 1510, are among those named by Scudamore (*Notitia Euch.* p. 570) as relating the old legend of the shepherds who said mass from memory in the fields. So also, Caxton *Golden Legend*, (120.) vii. p. 239.

a f. 189.

b 'an': *Cleop.*

c 'beginneth,'

Cleop. f. 281.

d 'this,' *Cleop.* f. 281.

e f. 189 b.

f 'desires': *Cleop.*
f. 281.

g f. 190. (*Here there is a return to the handwriting of f. 185. See pp. lxx., 19 n2.*)

but that it is expedient to keep silence and ^asecrecy,¹ at the time of such a ^bhigh mystery, that both the priest and the people may have the more devout meditations, and the better attend about the same.

Then the priest beginning^c to represent in his^d sacrifice of the mass, the most painful and bloody sacrifice, once offered for our salvation upon the cross, and prayeth the Father to accept these gifts prepared for the consecration, and inclining his body maketh a cross upon the altar and kisseth it, signifying thereby, the humble inclining and willing obedience of Christ to his Father's will to suffer his passion upon the altar of his cross for our salvation.

^eAnd then following the example of Christ, the high bishop, which, approaching the time of his passion, gave himself to prayer, and also according to the apostle's doctrine to Timothy,² the minister giveth himself to prayer; First in general for the universal church, of the which he desireth^f peace and preservation, second for princes and rulers, that govern the same, third, for all Christian and faithful people, remembering specially in his memento³ such as charity most bindeth [him] and time sufficeth him to do, making an honourable mention also of the saints which be departed, and first of our Lady, the XII apostles^g and as many martyrs which either by their bodily presence preaching or their blood shedding in their life time did bear witness and testimony to Christ's Passion joining them as it were both in one communion and participation of Christ's death and merits which hath deserved as well grace to the one as glory to the other desiring *God* by their prayers to protect and defend the whole congregation of all Christians; and

¹ 'Silence and secrecy': *Cf.* 'The xiii. artycle of the masse. Howe, after *Sanctus*, the preest begynneth with scylence secretly the Canon hauyng the curteynes drawn: to the entent that he be not troubled.' *The Interpretacyon and Signyfycacyon of the Masse*, 1532. (P. Dearmer, *Alcuin Club Collection* v. p. 142. The riddels or curtains were then sometimes drawn close, (*ibid.* pp. 59, 60, 128; *cf.* 84, etc.)

² To Timothy: 1 Tim. ii. 1; *Cf.* St. John, xvii. 1-26.

³ The first 'memento' or prayer for the faithful living and 'militant here on earth.' See below, p. 25, n.

after certain prayers and petitions made for the people and also that the oblation may be acceptable unto God, he proceedeth with all reverence to the consecration first of the bread, taking it in his hands and giving thanks following^a the example of Christ by virtue and power of whose words the substance of bread is turned to the substance of the body of Christ and likewise the substance of wine into his precious blood which he lifteth up both that the people with all reverence and honour may worship the same and also to signify thereby partly Christ's Exaltation upon the cross for our redemption which was figured^b by the serpent set up by Moses in the desert and partly signifying that triumphant advancement and exaltation that^d God the Father because of his passion hath exalted him above all creatures bidding the people to have^f it in remembrance as oft as they shall do the same. After the which the priest extendeth and stretcheth abroad his arms in form of a cross¹ declaring thereby, that according to Christ's Commandment, both he and the people not only have the fresh remembrance of the passion, but also of his resurrection and glorious ascension.

And so proceedeth to the second memento² in which he prayeth for them that be dead in the faith of Christ and

^a f. 190b.

^b 'figurate' :
Cleop. f. 282.
^c [St John, iii. 14.]
^d 'whereof,' *Cleop.*
 f. 282.
^e [Phil. ii. 9.]
^f f. 191.

¹ Extendeth . . . his arms in form of a cross: See *A Sign of the Cross in Christian Ceremonial* (by Chr. Wordsworth) in *Ch. Quarterly Rev.* xxxv. 315-41 1893; *The Sign of the Cross in Western Liturgies*, E. Beresford-Cooke, Alcuin Club Tract. vii. (1907).

² Cf. 'The xxiii. Article of the mass. Howe the Priest beyng in his second memento, prayeth for the soules that be departed beyng in purgatorye.' *The Interpretacyon and Signyfycacyon of the Masse*, by frere Gararde. (Alcuin Club Tract., v. p. 144; Cf. p. 99. ed. P. Dearmer).

'The secounde memento' i.e., the paragraph or prayer *pro mortuis* beginning 'Memento etiam, Domine, animarum' (*Missale Sarisb.* 619), the first memento, *pro vivis*, ('Memento, Domine, famulorum,') being earlier in the Canon (*id.* 613). Here note the Winchester College rubric inserted in a printed Sarum Missal now at Peterborough Cathedral. '*Quilibet Sotius et conducticius huius collegii tenetur in singulis eorum missis in secundo momento*' [sic] '*specialem habere memoriam pro animabus . . . Willelmi*' [fundatoris], 'Edwardi' [regis, III.], &c. See *Tracts of Clem. Maydestone* (H. B. Soc.) 229.

^a 'peace,' *Cleop.* f. 282.

^b f. 191b. (Here for this page only, the writing changes to the same as that of ff. 186-189.)

^c 'thereby teaching them,' *Cleop.* f. 282.

^d 'this,' *Cleop.* f. 283.

^e f. 192.

^f 'the,' *Cleop.* f. 283.

^g f. 192b.

^h [S. John, xiv. 27.]

ⁱ [1 Thess. v. 26; 1 Cor. xvi. 20; 2 Cor. xiii. 12; Rom. xvi. 16.]

^j 'rathe': *L.*; 'much': *Cleop.* f. 283.

^k 'whereof,' *Cleop.* f. 284.

^l f. 193.

sleep in peace that it might please God to grant them a place of refreshing, light, and quietness.^a Then he joineth himself with the people knocking upon his^b breast, teaching thereby them^c that he and they both be sinners, and have need of mercy and grace purchased by Christ's passion and desireth Almighty God to give them a society with the holy apostles and martyrs, not as an esteemer of *their* merits, but as a merciful grantor of remission, and that by Christ, by whom he worketh and granteth all these benefits wherefore all honour and glory is to be rendered to him by Christ and with Christ the Holy Ghost being knit in unity to them, and then expressing with a loud voice how long his^d honour and glory is due to God *he* saith per omnia secula seculorum, that is to say, perpetually, the church answering Amen, so be it.

^e The priest then to the intent he may *the* more worthily receive the holy and blessed body and blood of Christ both to the comfort and strength, as well of him [self] as of them that be present saith the 'pater noster' asking of God this heavenly and celestial bread with deliverance from all evils, and increase of quietness and peace, and so discovering the chalice in tokening that Christ would the fruit of his passion to be opened and manifest to all the world, taketh the host and breaketh it, and divideth it, in tokening of the distribution of it amongst his disciples, at his^f last supper, and the breaking of his body, the time of his passion, at which^g supper above all things he commanded to them peace and charity, saying 'pacem meam do vobis, pacem [meam] relinquo vobis,' and therefore the minister taketh the kiss of peace from the blessed sacrament and sendeth it to the people, saluting each other in 'osculo sancto,'ⁱ as biddeth Saint Paul admonishing them thereby of the fraternal *and* mutual peace and concord which they ought to have, without the which peace and concord this communion or sacrament of common union is to them nothing profitable, but rather^j damnable.

Then saith the priest thrice 'Agnus Dei,' etc. advertising us of three effects of Christ's passion, wherefore^k the first is ^l deliverance from the misery of sin, the second is from pain of everlasting damnation wherefore^k he saith twice

‘miserere nobis,’ that is to say, have mercy upon^a us : and the third effect is giving of everlasting peace consisting in the glorious fruition of God, wherefore he saith ‘dona nobis pacem,’ that is to say, give us peace.

Then followeth the commixtion of the body and blood of Christ together, signifying the joining together of his body and soul in the resurrection, which before were severed at the time of his passion ; and albeit there be ii^b consecrations yet there is but one sacrament containing under each form^c the whole^d body and blood of Christ inseparably.

Then followeth the¹ communion^e which is an exciting or a moving to the people to laud and praise God, and because in the primitive church when devotion was fervent, divers used many times to receive it together with the priest, therefore *in the prayer called the Post Communion* the priest in the name of them all prayeth and rendereth thanks unto God for their spiritual refection, ‘per Dominum nostrum’ by whose passion exhibit, the mass hath his strength and efficacy.

Then the priest eftsoons turning his face to the people, after the salutation, saith these words ‘Ita^f missa^g est’ that is to say, go ye the mass is ended and in that he biddeth^g them go is signified we ought to follow Christ^h in his holy life, and always to be going from virtue *to virtue*, and not to stand orⁱ tarry in the worldly^j pleasures, but diligently to haste us to the life everlasting ; and that we may be of the number of them, to whom it shall be said ‘venite

^a ‘on,’ *Cleop.* f. 284.

^b ‘two,’ *Cleop.* f. 284.

^c f. 193.
^d ‘holy,’ *Cleop.* f. 284.

^e ‘the comon,’ *L.*

^f ‘Ita’ (for ‘Ite’) *L.*
^g f. 194.

^h [Ps. lxxxiv. (lxxxiii.) 7.]
ⁱ ‘and,’ *Cleop.* f. 284.
^j ‘wordly,’ *L.* and *Cleop.*
^k [S. Matt. xxv. 34.]


¹ “Common” and “Postcommon” were forms in frequent use in England for the anthem called *communio* and the prayer called *postcommunio*, respectively.

² The same error ‘Ita’ (for ‘Ite’) ‘missa est’ is found in the somewhat late mediaeval Episcopal Ceremonial (*‘Regule generales de observantiis Episcoporum’*) prefixed to the xivth cent. Pontifical (Brit. Mus. MS. Lansd. 451) and printed in Frere’s *Pontifical Services*, Alcuin Club Collections, III. p. 105.

³ to follow Christ: Cf. ‘Creature, go after our Lord, and ensue him by good works:’ Caxton, *Golden Legend*, (‘The Noble History of the Exposition of the mass,’) ed. 12^{mo}, vii. 260.

benedicti,' that is to say, come you blessed of my Father and receive the kingdom, and so forth, the priest giveth us at our departure *sometimes*¹ the benediction in the name of the whole Trinity, signifying that last benediction which Christ gave to his disciples in the mount *of* Olivet,^a when he ascended to his Father^b where he sitteth on his right hand, a continual intercessor for us, to whom be all laud and praise for ever. Amen.²

[S. Luke, xxiv.
50.]
b f. 194b.

¹ *Sometimes* (as the revised copy, *Cleop.* E. v., notes) a final benediction was given at the end of mass. Thus we find one provided for double feasts in the *York Missal* (ed. Henderson, ii. 196), '*Benedictio generalis, cum calice et corporalibus plicatis*, Adiutorium nostrum in nomine Domini: Qui fecit celum et terram. Sit nomen, &c. Ex hoc nunc, &c. *Benedictio*. Benedicat vos diuina maiestas et vna Deitas, Pater, et Filius,  et Spiritus Sanctus.' See also the York and Hereford Marriage Mass, and one MS. of the Sarum *Manuale* cited by Henderson, *York (and Sarum) Manual*, pp. 39, 25* note; *Missale Herford*, p. 443. (Cf. *The Myrroure of our Ladye*, ed. Blunt, pp. 331-2) 'It ys commanded in the lawe of holy chyrche [*De Consecratione*, distinc. i., ca. '*Missas*'], that on feasteful days, when people are bounde to here dyvyne servyce, that they go not from the masse tyl yt be ended, and tyl they have in the end of the masse the prestes blyssynge.' Cf. P. Dearmer, on Brother Gerarde or Gherit's 'Booklet of the Masse,' *Alcuin Club Collection* v. p. 139.

² 'to whom be all laud,' &c. This ascription or doxology probably indicates that this Book of Ceremonies was prepared for public reading, as an Instruction to be used by way of a Homily in two Parts. See p. lxvi.

116
expte 1 Sat 1807 proceeding in the by deprivis may proceed
frover^{in some} ~~but~~ ^{as} the way is allways god
in the gloze.

by cause it is very laborious and painful thus away to
crosse his perfect affectors living according to
gods commandment the church next the
holynes and humble wite a page off gladness
called the allhymn. 1 Sat 26 to the lands of god,
admonishing 1807 1808 to rejoice in the trouble
being certy 1 Sat aff 1808 Henry 1809
that receive in/astory 1809

(9.) SUNDAYS ¹WITH OTHER FEASTS^a.

THE SUNDAYS are to be continued and employed in the service of God, to hear his word preached, to give thanks to him for his benefits that we receive daily; and that day is much to be regarded both for the antiquity and also for that it is a memorial of Christ's resurrection whereby we ought to be stirred to erect our minds from earthly things to heavenly contemplation of Christ's glorified nature; by that conceiving also a certain hope of our resurrection and eternal glory.

^bTHE FEASTS of our Lord divers times in the year received and approved as holy and solemn days are to be kept in their accustomed veneration and solemnity as well for the sundry causes before rehearsed, as also for that they represent unto us the manifold and inestimable benefits of our Redemption; as the Incarnation of Christ, his apparition,² passion, resurrection, ascension, the sending down of the Holy Ghost and such other.

THE FEASTS of Saints, as divers of our blessed Lady, of the apostles, martyrs, confessors, and virgins, such as are not abrogated,³ or otherwise ordered by the high Governor,

^aThe MSS. do not contain any more distinct headings. *Cleop.* has from this point the principal words written in a larger hand in order that attention may be directed to each topic as it is dealt with. The headings inserted above are derived from the table of contents prefixed to the B.M. MS., *Cleop.* F. v.
^bf. 195.

¹ 'Sundays, with other Feasts': Cf. Durandus, Books VI and VII.

² *Apparitio Domini* 'his apparishyon' (L.) an old name for the Epiphany. R. T. Hampson cites 'Apparitio, quod est Epiphthania,' from *Fragm. Kalendarii Mozarabici*, apud Pinium. Also, 'Aparitia Domini' from *Brit. Mus. M.S. Cotton, Julius A. 10.* an A.S. *Menologium*; *Kal. Medii Aevi* 1841, Glossary pp. 20, 21. Cf. *Mozarabic Psalter* (H. B. Soc.) 201.

The word '*apparuit*' occurs in the missal both in the proper preface and in the collect for Epiphany. And the name itself is found in one MS. of the *York Missal* (cir. 1425) York Minster MS. xvi. A. 9, (ed. Henderson, Surtees Soc. lix.) i. p. 172 n. 'Pelagius papa constituit cantandas nouem prefationes: i. de natiuitate, ii. de apparicione,' etc.

"This day is called Epiphany, or Epiphanye in common language. And it is said of this term *epi*, which is as much as to say 'above,' and of this term *phanes*, which is as much as to say 'apparition'" (Caxton, *Golden Legend* ed. 12^{mo}, i. 42.)

³ abrogated:—See First Injunctions (1536) no. 3. (Gee and Hardy, *Documents*, p. 271.) Holy Days falling in the time of harvest (1 July

a.f. 195b.

are to be used in godly exercise, and due veneration, according to the approved custom because that in those days we remember^a the high gifts of God in them, and for those not only to glorify him, but also to pray him that we may have like grace here to follow their example of godly living, and at the last attain with them the everlasting life and the state that they be in.

[10.] BELLS.

Bells¹ are ordained to call the ministers and people to the church in times convenient, admonishing them to come to the preaching of the word of God, the ministration of the sacraments, the divine service, and prayer in the church[es] for the time used, to give knowledge of our Christian brother or sister departed this world, that both we may call to our remembrance our own mortality and also be moved with charity to pray for them so departed.²

to 29 Sept.) and in Westminster term, with certain exceptions, were abrogated by Cranmer's Provincial Synod, 19 July, 1536. (Wilkins *Concil.* iii. 824-7.) Also the feasts of St. Thomas the martyr, abolished 16 Nov. 1538. (Burnet's Records III. 62, ed. N. Pocock, vi. p. 220.) Cf. the 15th injunction of 1538. (Gee and Hardy, *Documents*, 280.)

¹ Bells:—Cf. Durandus, Bk. I. Ch. iv. '*De campanis*,' The 45th canon framed in 967 under K. Edgar and Abp. Dunstan runs thus: '*Docemus etiam, ut quis statis temporibus campanas pulset, et ut omnis tunc sacerdos cantum suum horarium in ecclesia psallat, Deum in timore invocet sollicitate, et pro omni populo preces fundat.*' (Spelman, *Concilia*, i. 453.)

The constitution '*Ut parochiani*,' of Abp. Ro. Winchelsey 1305 (or Simon Islip, 1368), declares that it is incumbent on parishioners to provide '*campanas cum chordis*,' as well as '*tintinnabulum ad deferendum coram Corpore Christi.*' Lyndwood *Prov.* 252, iii. 36. Cf. J. Johnson, *Ecccl. Laws*, ii. 319.

Maskell (*Mon. Rit.* i. p. xxxi.) cites, with insufficient reference, the canon of 'one council in 1453' prescribing that '*ministri ecclesiarum horas . . . canonicas in suis ecclesiis ordinate dicant . . . premissa trina campanarum pulsatione.*' This was the provincial Council of Cashel, held at Limerick, in 1453, (Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii. 565).

² The Churchwardens at *St. Edmund's, Salisbury*, in 1481-2 paid to 'Christopher Peutrer, for the mending of candlesticks, standyng by

[II.] VESTURE AND TONSURE OF THE MINISTERS OF THE
CHURCH AND WHAT SERVICES THEY BE BOUND UNTO.

It is convenient that bishops, priests^a and all other such as hath orders and continue in their ministration, for an honest difference to be known from other persons, should not only wear certain manner of vestures and outward raiment, but also for a like difference, to have according to their order and degree, a convenient crown with other honest tonsure¹ in their hair^b.

It is also laudable and convenient that (except sickness, or any other reasonable impediment or let) every bishop, priest, and other having orders, and continuing in their administration, shall daily say divine service,² that is to say, matins, prime, hours, evensong, and compline, and such as are bishops and priests divers times to say mass: and that they may say it the more^c oftentimes they ought to pray for grace and dispose themselves^d accordingly.

^a f. 196.

^b 'heare': *L.*; Cf. Bonner's Injunctions 1542, that all priests appear in the habit of their functions.

^c f. 169b.

^d 'theym selfe': *L.*

fore the grete crosse, the whiche were broken with Ringing on al sowlys ny³th, 2d.' *Accounts*, pp. 26,368. Those at St. Denys, *Stanford in the Vale of White Horse*, in 1558-9 'received of the mayddes vppon all hallow nyght, iij d., and vd. in the following year, and 1½d. in 1563-4. But in 1566-7 they paid 'in expencis to Oxford, beyng syted thethur for Rynging vppon all hallow nygh(t)e, wyth y^e courte chargis, iij s. vd.'

¹ Honest tonsure: Cf. canon 10 of the Council of London, or Westminster, under Hubert Walter in 1200. 'Clerici etiam omnes habitum habeant clericalem et tonsuram canonicam.' (Spelman, *Concil*, ii. 127) *Constitutiones Legatinae Othonis*, no. 14, A.D. 1237. 'honestatem vestium, tonsuram et coronam decentes,' etc. *Lyndw.* ii. 37; Cf. ii. 88. *Const. Legat. Othoboni* 5, A.D. 1268. Cf. Durandus, Bk. I. ch. i. sectt. 27-32.

² divine Service: *Lyndw. Provinciale*, lib. iii. tib. 23. 'Linteamina . . . Nullus insuper,' etc. A.D. 1322; p. 236; ii. 40; 'Presbyteri stipendiarii . . . Decernimus etiam,' etc., A.D. 1305; p. 237; ii. p. 36; Rock, *Church of our Fathers*, iv. 1-18; 138-169; Wordsworth and Littlehales, *Old Service Books*, 15-26.

[12.] BEARING CANDLES UPON CANDLEMAS DAY.

Bearing Candles on Candlemas day¹ is a very good usage in memory of Christ the spiritual light of whom Simeon did prophesy as is read in the Church that day.

[13.] FASTING DAYS.²

^a 'times and days,' *Cleop.* f. 287.

^b 'a just and a reasonable,' *Cleop.* f. 288. *In L. the word 'a' is interlined.*

^c 'of,' *Cleop.* f. 288.

Fasting certain days and times^a in the year, as abstinence in lent and other times received and appointed to be kept and not changed or abrogated, are very laudable and without a reasonable and (a) just^b (to the contrary) cause, ought to be observed according to the custom of this realm, for though the manner of fasting, and certain days of fastings are not expressed in scripture, yet we ought to fast, by the teaching of the scripture, as it appeareth in many places of the same, both in^c the old and the new testament, for it is a godly exercise, both to subdue and mortify the fleshly appetites, and also to make the person more apt to prayer: and therefore our Master Christ for our example, not only fasted, but also doth teach us, that when we fast we should beware of hypocrisy.³

[14.] THE GIVING OF ASHES.⁴

^d f. 197.

^d The giving of ashes upon Ash-Wednesday, with these words 'Remember man that thou art ashes and to ashes thou shalt return' is to put us in remembrance in the be-

¹ Candlemas Day: *Processionale* (ed. Henderson, 1882), 139-144; *Salisbury Processions*, (ed. C. Wordsworth) 99-101. *Missale*, 696-706. *Brev. Sar.* iii. 131-146. Cf. Durandus, Bk. VII. Ch. vii.

"Bearing of Candles on Candlemas Day in memory of Christ . . . Symeon did prophesy . . . day." This sentence is found almost *verbatim* in the Articles of 1536. See App. III. p. 64 below.

² 'Fasting days':—Cf. Durandus, Bk. VI. ch. vi-ix, xxviii.

³ Matt. iv. 2; vi. 16.

⁴ Giving of Ashes:—Cf. Durandus, Bk. VI. Ch. xxviii. Sect. 18. On 'Certain Ceremonies [heretofore] used in the Church at the time of Lent, and what they signify,' viz., 'of the Ashes; of the Covering of Images; of the Ceremonies that are used in the Procession of

ginning of lent of our frail nature and uncertainty of this life here, wherefore it were very good and convenient to express the same in English to the understanding of unlearned persons.

[15.] THE COVERING OF THE CROSS AND IMAGES IN
LENT.

The covering of the cross and the images in lent¹ with the discovering of the same at the Resurrection, signifyeth not only the darkness of infidelity which covered the face of the Jews in the old testament, but also the dark knowledge that they had of Christ which was the perfection and end of the law and not yet opened unto the time of his death *and resurrection*.

^a[Rom. x. 4.]

And the same partly is signified by the veil² which hid the secrets of Sancta Sanctorum from the people; and in the time of Christ's passion was opened that all men might see it and have a^c ready entrance thereinto.

^b[S. Mark xv. 38.]

^cf. 197b.

^d'thereinto, the Holy Ghost signifying': *Cleop.* f. 289.

The Holy Ghost signifieth^d thereby as saith Saint Paul³

Palm-Sunday; of the washing of the altars, and what it signifieth. See *A Potation for Lent*:—sect. 'Ashes,' by T. Becon (1542) *Works*, ed. Parker Society, i. 110-116.

Processionale 26-31; *Salisbury Ceremonies and Processions*, 60-4.

Cf. "Giving of ashes on Ash-Wednesday, to put in remembrance every Christian man in the beginning of Lent and penance, that he is but ashes and earth, and thereto shall return; which is right necessary to be uttered from henceforth in our mother tongue always on the same day." Articles of 1536. See below, App: III. p. 65. Becon's *Potation*, i. 110, 111.

¹Covering the cross and images: *Sarum Breviary*, I. p. decci; *Tracts of Clement Maydeston*, 15, 48; *Salisbury Ceremonies and Processions* (ed. 1901) p. 173. Frere, *Use of Sarum*, 139 *cf.* 308 (index, s.v. 'Sabbatum'); Becon, i. III. *Cf.* Durandus, Bk. VI. ch. xxvii. sect. 12; lxxvii. sect. 16.

²The Lenten Veil: W. H. Frere, *Use of Sarum* (1898) i. 138-41 (Consuetudinary and Customary); *ib.* (1901) ii. 58, 65 (Ordinale). Velum xl. (*i.e.* quadragesimale). Provided by parishioners, Lyndw., *Provinciale*, 252. The winch or windlass for the pulley may be still seen affixed to a pillar on the north of Salisbury Cathedral presbytery.

³'St. Paul,' *i.e.* Hebrews, ix, 8.

that the way of holiness was not yet opened, so long as the first tabernacle was standing, nor the way of life, as the prophet saith,¹ was known before.

[16.] BEARING OF PALM.

Bearing of palms² on palmes Sunday in memory of the receiving of Christ in to Hierusalem a little before his death, that we may have the same desire to receive him into our hearts.

[17.] THE SERVICE OF WEDNESDAY, THURSDAY (AND),
FRIDAY, BEFORE EASTER.³

The Service upon Wednesday, Thursday, and *Good Friday* differeth from other Service in the year, and the Church useth then lamentable and mourning ceremonies reading the lessons of the lamentation of Jeremy,⁴ signifying an heaviness, for so much as the Jews at that time, travailed and sought by all means to attack Christ, and bring him to^a his death, and the same service is called *Tenebres*⁵ because that Christ walked then not openly as

a f. 198.

¹ 'The prophet' Isai. lix. 8; Jerem. xxi, 8.

² Palms: Cf. Durandus, Bk. VI. ch. lxvii; see *Proc.* 44-54; *Salisbury Ceremonies and Processions*, 67-8.

This section, "Bearing of palms . . . of [the] receiving . . . our hearts," is found in the 9th Article of 1536. App. III. p. 65. Becon, i. 112.

³ 'Wednesday, Thursday (and) Friday before Easter.'—Cf. Durandus, Bk. VI. ch. lxxi—lxxvii.

⁴ Lamentation of Jeremy: *Threni*, id est Lamentationes Jeremiae Prophetæ; *Brev.* I. pp. dccxiii; declxxv-dccxcvi.

⁵ *Tenebres*, 'Tenebrae': Use of Sarum, i. 142-3; *Brev.* I. p. dclxxiii; *Church of our Fathers*, iv. 82-4; 99, 144, 270-72. In the *Churchwardens' accounts of Stanford in the Vale*, Berks, for the year ended 2 Apr. 1559, these items occur: "for Tymber to the makynge of the crosse that beryth the *Tenebre lyght*, othur wyze cawlyd the *Judas light*, xviii *d.* It for pycs of yron for ye sayd lyght, iiij *d.* It. for wax for the sayd lyght iiij nyghttis, ij *d.*" Dr. James Calphill, a Calvinist, Bp. denominate of Worcester (born in Edinburgh), in his *Answer* to

he was wont to do, but kept him secret ^a with his disciples in a city called Ephraim, till it pleased him willingly to come and suffer his passion for our salvation.

^a 'secretly,'
Cleop. f. 289.
(*St. John*, xi. 54).

The candles in those nights first light and then put out at every psalm and lesson, signifieth the manifold lights given by the holy prophets, before the coming of Christ which at this time were darkened, for the world was then in an Infidelity, and the cruel Jews did not only put the former prophets to death, but also then they practised the death of Christ, the head of all prophets, which shortly after they accomplished to their confusion and our salvation.

Upon Sher-Thursday,¹ as we call it, most principally it is to be considered that Our Saviour did ^b institute the most blessed sacrament of the altar; for then he both gave to his disciples his most blessed body to eat and his most precious blood to drink, the very same that after was betrayed ^c for us and put to death, rose, and ascended. He washed also the same day the feet of his disciples teaching humbleness, and very love and charity by his example.

^b f. 198_n.

^c 'be treed' *L.*

Martiall's treatise (dedicated to Q. Elizabeth) 'Of the crosse', in 1565, gives this brief reminiscence: 'I remember of old that on Tenebrae-Wednesday, or one of the solemn days before Easter, ye were wont to have a right counterfeit in the church of Constantinople's Cross; save that the one was of silver, the other of wood. And this was Judas' Cross, whereupon, was set a great sort of candles, which at service-time were put out in order." Calphill's *Works* (Parker Soc.) p. 300. He was Dean of Bocking 1565-70, and had been at Eton in 1540, at King's Coll. Cam. in 1545, and student of Ch. Ch. Oxon, 1548. For an English Sermon *ad Tenebras*, (or '*ad vesp̄as post Tenebras*') see Mirk's *Festial* edited from MSS. by Dr. Theodor Erbe, for E.E.T.S. 1905, i. 117-120.

¹Sher-Thursday: "Say that in holy chyrch hit is called [*cena Domini*] *our Lordys supperday*. . . Hyt is alsoo in Englysch tonge: *Sher-Thursday*; for, in the old fadyrs dayes, men wold that day make scher hom honest and dodde [poll] hor heddys and clyp hor berdys, and so mak hom honest a^zeynes Astyr-day." J. Mirk, *Festial* i. 125. For this passage as in the printed *Liber Festivalis*, see D. Rock's *Church of our Fathers*, ed. Hart and Frere, 1904, iv. 272-3 *n*. 'Shier thursday' is the spelling in *Cleop.* E. v. f. 290.

[18.] THE HALLOWING OF OIL AND CHRISM.

Oil and chrism¹ are this day consecrated; which signifieth principally the Imperial and priestly dignity of Christ and his anointing with the spiritual unction of the Holy Ghost above all creatures, admonishing us of our state and condition; for as of Chrisma Christ is named, so of Christ we be called Christians; and secondarily it signifieth defacing and abolishing of the rites and consecrations of the old law which were done in oil, and therefore at this time the old^a oil is² burnt^b and destroyed and new consecrated, signifying thereby our new regeneration in Christ, and holy³ unction^c which we have by his Holy Spirit.

^a f. 199.
^b 'bronde' (or, possibly, 'brende');
^c 'inunction',
Cleop. f. 290.

[19.] THE WASHING OF THE ALTARS.

It is a laudable custom the same day to wash the altars,⁴ and to prepare with all cleanness the places whereat^d the most blessed Sacrament shall be ministered; and also to be for us a remembrance that as those^e things inanimate are washed and cleansed for that purpose so we ought much more to prepare and wash our minds and consciences at all

^d Both MSS. read 'whereas.' (i.e. 'wheresoever').
^e 'thois': *L.*

¹ *Oleum Infirmorum: Oleum Sanctum: Sanctum Crisma.* *Salisbury Ceremonies*, 71-3. And for other references, see above, p. 14, where this Section first occurs in *L.* Durandus Bk. VI. ch. lxxiv.

² *bronde* (*brende*) *brendt*, i.e. *burnt*. 'Omni anno die Cene Domini debet crisma nouum ab episcopo confici, et vetus removeri et concremari.' (*Pupilla Oculi*, Pars. iii. Cap. 7.) So Abp. Peckham's constitution, A.D. 1279 'Vetus, seu quod superest de veteri chrismate, sit in sacris ecclesiis concremandum.' (Lyndw. *Prov.* i. 37; iii. 24-5.) For the exception in the time of the Interdict, A.D. 1208, see Gee and Hardy, *Documents*, p. 13.

³ For the interchange of the words 'unction' and 'inunction' compare Cranmer's 7th *Answer* to the *Questions concerning the Sacraments*, in MS. *Cleop.* E. v. ff. 53-57. Burnet, *Hist. Ref.* bk. iii. record 70. ed. N. Pocock, vi. p. 244. Also Dr. Day's answer to Question 8. The Abp. of York (Edw. Lee) used the term 'Chrismation.' id. Part I. Book iii. Record no. 21, ed. N. Pocock, iv. p. 465. Dr. Cox used the expression 'inoint.' (*id.* iv. p. 466.)

⁴ *Ablucio Altarium: Salisbury Ceremonies* 73-9; Becon, i. 116. (*A Potation for Lent*, 1542). Cf. Durandus, Bk. VI. ch. lxxvi.

times, and especially at this time for the more worthy receiving of the same most high Sacrament.

Upon Good Friday is renewed yearly the remembrance of the blessed passion, wherefore that day ^a (amongst other godly ceremonies to be continued) ^a is the creeping to the cross,¹ where we humble ^b ourselves to Christ before the same, offering unto him and kissing of the cross in memory of our redemption by Christ upon the cross. And that day is prepared and well adorned, the sepulture,² in remembrance of his sepulture which was prophesied by the prophet Esaias, to be glorious, wherein is laid the image of the cross and the most blessed Sacrament, to signify that there was buried no corpse or body that could be putrified, or corrupt, but the pure and undefiled body of Christ without spot of sin which never separate ^c from the Godhead. And therefore as David prophesied in the xv psalm, it could not see corruption, nor death could not detain nor hold him, but he should rise again to our great hope and comfort and therefore the Church adorneth it with lights to express the great joy that they have of that glorious triumph over death the devil and hell.

^a bracket omitted in *Cleop.* f. 290

^b f. 199b.

^c 'was never separated.' *Cleop.* f. 291.

¹ Creeping to the Cross: *Proc.* 69-72. cf. *Use of S.* i. 153, 287 s.v. 'Crux' § iv; *Church of our Fathers*, iv. 99-102, 279-80, 288-90; *Rites of Durham*, ed. I. T. Fowler, 11-12, 203-4. Dr. Gasquet gives a quotation from *Dives and Pauper* in *Parish Life of Mediæval England* (Methuen) 179-80. This sentence is found thus in the 9th Article of 1536:—'Creeping to the cross, and humbling ourselves to Christ on Good Friday before the cross, and offering [there] offering unto Christ before the same, and kissing of it in memory of our redemption by Christ made upon the cross.' App. III. pp. 65, 67, below. "A crucifix must be had in the church, borne in procession, and crept unto on Good Friday." J. Calhill, quoting J. Martiail, *Answer*, p. 100.

² The Sepulchre: *Proc.* 72; *Use of Sarum*, 6, 115, 153, 219-20; *Church of our Fathers*, iii. 76-9; iv. 103, 116, 278-9; Gasquet, *u.s.* pp. 177-8. This clause is found thus in the same Article of 1536: 'setting up the sepulture of Christ whose body after his death was buried.' See below, App. III. pp. 65, 67.

[20]. THE HALLOWING OF THE FONT UPON
SATURDAY IN THE EASTER-EVEN.

^a f. 200.

Upon Saturday Easter-Even is hallowed the ^afont¹ which is as it were vestigium or a remembrance of [the] Baptism that was used in the primitive Church, at which time and Pentecost there was used in the church two solemn baptizings and much concourse of people came unto the same. The first was at Easter time because that the mystery of Baptism agreeth well to the time, for like as Christ died and was buried and rose again the third day, so by putting into the water, it ^bsignified our death to sin, and the immersions betokeneth our burying and mortifying to the same; and the rising again out of the water declareth us to be risen unto a new life according to the doctrine of Saint Paul. Ro. 6to. ^c And the second solemn baptizing, that is to say, at Pentecost, was because that then is celebrate the feast of the Holy Ghost, which is the worker of the spiritual regeneration, which we have in baptism; and therefore the church useth yet to hallow the font also at that time.

^b 'is,' *Cleop. f.*
292.

^c i.e. Rom. vi. 4.

^d f. 201^b

[21] [THE CEREMONIES OF THE RESURRECTION IN
EASTER MORNING.]

^d Upon Easter day in the morning the ceremonies of the Resurrection be very laudable to put us in remembrance² of Christ's resurrection which is the cause of our Justifi-

¹ Hallowing of the font: *Proc.* 74-89; *Use of S.* i. 146, 149-151; *Church of our Fathers*, iv. 113-14, 281. Cf. *Art.* 9, of 1536:—"the hallowing of the font, and other like exorcism and benedictions by the ministers of Christ's Church; and all other like laudable customs rites and ceremonies be not to be contemned," &c. See below, app. III. pp. 65, 67; Canon Fowler, *Rites of Durham* pp. 187-91; cf. 201-2 gives an extract from a Durham MS. Missal, B. Mus. Harl. 5289, containing service for Easter Even. Cf. Durandus, Bk. VI. ch. lxxviii. Sect. 4; ch. lxxxii.

² Ceremonies of the Resurrection: Cf. Durandus, Bk. VI. ch. xxxvi. sect. 6; ch. lxxxviii; *Use of Sarum* i. 153; *Proc.* 91-9; *Church of our Fathers*, iv. 114-20, 285-8; *Rites of Durham*, ed. Fowler, Surtees Soc. 1902, pp. 12, 13, 205.

cation; and that as Christ being our head, was the first among^a the dead which rose never to die again, so all Christian men being his members do conceive thereby a sure hope to rise from death of sin to godly conversation in this life, and finally at the day of Judgement, when the body and flesh of all men women and children shall by the operation of God be raised again, to rise with him in everlasting Glory.

^a 'amongst,'
Cleop. f. 292.
'emonge,' *L.*

[22.] [GENERAL AND OTHER PARTICULAR PROCESSIONS.]

General processions¹ and other particular processions with the litanies and other prayers, be very laudable wherein we pray to Almighty God, for the health prosperous estate and victory of our prince for the wealth

¹ General processions: *Proc.* 164-7; 166, cf. 104, 146. *Church of our Fathers*, iii., 392-3; iv., 210. The Litany was sung in Procession, on week days in Lent (*Use of Sarum*, 141-2), on Easter Even (*a*) *Septiformis* by 7 boys (id. 149), (*b*) *quinquepartita* by 5 deacons, and, (*c*) 'Rex Sanctorum' in metre by 3 clerks (id. 151). The *litania major* [on St. Mark's day] (id. 172), and Rogations (id. 172-3). See *Brev.* ii., 249-60; (*a*)-(c) *Missale*, 349 *n*; 350 *n*; and 347 *n*; 407 *n*; *ad aliquam ecclesiam in civitate in urbe vel suburbio*. Cf. J. Calhills against litanies and processions in *Answer to J. Martiall* (Parker Soc.) pp. 429-315. On Litanies and Processions, cf. Durandus, Bk. VI. ch. cii.

The 'manner of praying appointed by the king's Injunctions' of 1538 (no. 17, *Of Suffrages*) taught the relative importance of singing 'the good Suffrages' to our Lord (*Parce nobis*, and *Libera nos, Domine*) which, it was directed, were not to be omitted in order to give preference to invocations of Saints. For these Second Injunctions, of Henry VIII. [Crumwell's], 5th Sept., 1538, see Gee and Hardy, *Documents Illustrative of English Church History*, pp. 280-81, or N. Pocock's *Burnet*, iv. p. 346. Mr. Brightman has suggested that it is implied in our text that the Litany of 1544, prescribed as compulsory in 1545, was already in use when the 'Rationale' was penned, *Journ. Theol. Studies*, x., 512, *n*; 517 *n*. (July, 1909).

The reasons, however, for assigning the *Rationale* or 'Book of Ceremonies' to the earlier date, cir. 1540-43 will be found stated above, pp. li-liv.

'An exhortation vnto prayer, thoughte mete by the kinges maiestie, and his clergy, to be read to the people in every church afore processyons. Also a Letanie with suffrages to be said or song in the tyme of the said processyons' was printed in 8vo. by *T. Berthelet*, 27 May 1544.

of the realm, and for the temperance and pureness of the air, to man's health, and also for the increase of grain, grass and other fruits^a growing upon the earth for the sustenance of man. In the which processions we use to follow the cross and image of Our Saviour, not only praying unto him for our necessities whose image we do follow, but also professing ourselves, as true Christian people, ready to bear our cross with Christ, willingly to suffer all troubles and afflictions laid upon us, for the love and cause of Our Saviour, like as he suffered for us, and so as his servants, soldiers, and men of war we follow his banner for the remembrance of him declaring our proneness and readiness in all things to follow and serve him. Provided always that in all processions and^b manner of praying appointed by the kings injunctions be observed.

^a f. 201

^b 'the,' *Cleof.* f. 293.

[23.] [BENEDICTIONS OF THE BISHOPS OR PRIESTS.]

The accustomed benedictions of bishops or priests of old time used in the church are very laudable, for as ministers and pastors^c of the flock of Christ for that whole people where^d as they have their administrations, they pray to

^c 'pastures,' *L.*
^d f. 201^b.

A copy in Cambridge Univ. Library (Syn. 8.54.68¹) has supplied an appendix to the Parker Soc. *Private Prayers* ed. W. K. Clay, 8. Cam. 1851, pp. 564-76. (Syn. 8.54, 106, a fragment with the same date, has different type in colophon. There is another edition of that year, by *T. Petyt*, in the British Museum, c. 35, b. 16¹) C. Wriothesley, the Windsor herald, records that 'the Kinges Majestie afore his goeing over into Fraunce' (where he landed 14th July, 1544, at Calais) 'set forth a Letany in Englishe, which he commaunded should be sange in every parishe church through England, which was the Godlyest hearing that ever was in this realme.' (*Wriothesley's Chronicle of England*, Camden Soc. 1875, i. p. 148.) He chronicles subsequently the singing of the litany in English at St. Paul's, London, on Sunday Oct. 18th (St. Luke's Day). This was in the year 1545: 'The eighteenth of October, being Sainct Lukes daie and Soundaie, Paules quire song the procession in English by the Kinges injunction, which shall be song in everie parish church throughout Englande everie Sonndaie and festivall daie, and non other,' (*ib.* i. p. 161.) It may be noted that the Sarum *Processionale* (ed. Henderson, p. 158) had provided for a procession on St. Luke's Day, *si dominica fuerit*, but not otherwise. See *Direct. Sacerdotum*, ii. 407. Dr. Gairdner

Almighty God that it may please him to bless the people, that is to say to give unto them his goodness and grace in all their necessities, both for the body and soul, making a cross to signify in whose name they bless and by whom they ask the same gift of God.

[24a.] HOLY WATER AND HOLY BREAD.]

Holy bread¹ and holy water² be ij godly ceremonies and to be continued in the church, the one to put us in remembrance of our baptism, and *of* the blood of Christ sprinkled for our redemption upon the cross, and the

infers that 18th Oct. 1545 was the first occasion on which the Litany in English was sung at St. Pauls. (*History of the Church of England, Henry VIII. to Mary*, 1904, p. 230.) Mr. Brightman thinks it not improbable that it had been used there, as elsewhere, on Wednesdays and Fridays in 1544 as long as necessary, (as solemn and penitential supplications had been very frequently ordered by authority, for centuries past in time of war and other national occasions) but that it began to be used as a *festal* procession about St. Luke's Day, 1545. He infers that Cranmer having failed in his attempt to translate and adapt the *Processionale* (*State Papers, Henry VIII.* vol. i. part 2, pp. 760-61; Jenkyns, *Cranmer*, i. p. 315; *Procter and Frere*, pp. 42, 43) had induced King Henry VIII. substitute the new Litany as a substitute to for the whole book. (See *Engl. Hist. Review*, Jan. 1909, pp. 101-4.)

On Sunday 28th June 1545 an instance occurred of a country churchwarden, at the bidding of one of the gentry, compelling the choristers to leave the church and go on procession in the old way, only two of them remaining with the priest to sing 'the king's majesty's procession in English' in the choir. See Dr. Gairdner's Calendar of *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.* vol. xx, part i. no. 1118, and *Engl. Hist. Review*, xxiii. 531.

¹ Holy bread: 'Benedictio panis.' *Missale*, 33**.-36**; *Brev.* ii., 355; *Salisbury Ceremonies*, xxi., 18-20, 143, 144.

² Holy water: 'Benedictio Salis et aque' *Missale*, 29**.-33** (after calendar); *Brev.* i. p. dcccx; ii., 352; *Salisbury Ceremonies*, 10, 19, 73. See also *ibid.* pp. 143-4, where the vernacular form, 'Remember youre *promys made yn baptym*,' etc., sung at the giving of holy water in church, cir. 1470, and likewise Latimer's version of the 'words spoken to the people in giving them the holy water' and 'Holy Bread,' 'Of Christ's body this is a token' (cir. 1535-7), and the similar forms prescribed by the Royal Visitors at Doncaster, in 1548, are noticed. On 'Holy Water,' cf. Durandus, Bk. IV. ch. iv. Bk. I. ch. vi. Sect. 9.

^a 'of' altered to
'that' in MS. L.

^b f. 202.

^c This section
appears only in
MS. L. The MS.
Cleop. E. v, in its
present condition
ends with the
previous sentence.

^d attributes : L.

other to put us in remembrance that^a all Christian[s] *men* be one mystical body of Christ as the bread is made of many grains and yet but one loaf,¹ and to put us in remembrance also of the receiving of the Holy Sacrament and body of Christ [the which we ought to receive]^b in right charity, which in the beginning of Christ's Church men did more often receive than they use now a days to do.

[24^b.] [EXORCISMS² TO BE OMITTED.]^c

[But for so much as plenary remission of sin and everlasting life is purchased unto us by the merits of Christ's passion only, therefore all such exorcisms and prayers which attribute^d remission of sins, redemption, propitiation, salvation, or other like to any other creature than to Christ shall be from henceforth omitted and in no wise used.]

¹ Many grains, but one loaf: 1 Cor. x., 17; *Didache xii Apostl.* cap. 9 §4; Cyprian, *Epist.* lxiii., 13; *Prayer Book of Bp. Sarapion*, cap: 1. S.P.C.K. (edd. Dr. G. Wobbermin and the Bp. of Salisbury, 1899, p. 63.) *Apostolic Constitutions* vii., 25. Contrast Pseudo-Athanasius *De Virginitate*, Migne, *Patr. Graeca* xxviii., cap. 13. Cf. also the 9th article of 1536:—

“As concerning the rites and ceremonies of Christ's Church, as to have such vestments in doing God's Service, as be and have been most part used, as sprinkling of holy water, to put in remembrance of our baptism, and the blood of Christ sprinkled for our redemption upon the cross: giving of holy bread, to put us in remembrance of the sacrament of the altar, that all Christian men be one body mystical in Christ, as the bread is made of many grains, and yet but one loaf, and to put us in remembrance of the receiving [of] the holy sacrament and body of Christ, the which we ought to receive in right charity; which in the beginning of Christ's Church, men did more often receive than they use now-a-days to do.” See App. III., p. 64, below. And the exposition of the 4th Commandment in the *Institution of a Christian man*, 1537. See App. III., p. 67. Cf. also Art. ii concerning the Things of the Church, etc. at Bp. Edm. Bonner's Visitation in 1554. (Cardwell *Docum. Annals* ed. 2, vol. i. p. 150.) See also J. Calfhill, *Answer to Martiall* (Preface) Parker Soc., 16, 17.

² On exorcisms, contrast Durandus, *Rationale Divinorum*, Bk. VI. ch. lxxxiii. sect. 8. And, on exorcists, Bk. II. ch. vi. sect. 2, 4.

[25.] A GENERAL DOCTRINE TO WHAT INTENT CEREMONIES
BE ORDAINED AND OF WHAT VALUE THEY BE OF ^a.

[Finally these rites and ceremonies here before expressed and mentioned with other good and laudable now used in the ministration of sacraments for their godly signification, are very commendable and to be observed, and in no wise to be omitted without a reasonable cause, except it shall be seen to the rulers and governors upon ^b good considerations to take away, alter, or change them or any of them; so that the people use the same without superstition, taking them for good tokens and signs to put them in remembrance of things of higher ^c perfection, and for a decent and a convenient order to be had in the church, and none otherwise, and not to repose any trust of salvation in them, or that they have power to remit sin, but to stir and lift up their minds to God by whom with the Holy Ghost, be laud, honour, and praise for ever. Amen.]

Space enough for 6 lines of the scrivener's writing remains blank at the end of the 'Book of Ceremonies' in Lambeth MS. 1107.

^a This heading is derived from the *Summary of points* prefixed in *Cleop.* E. v. f. 267b. (See p. 2, above.) MS. *Cleop.* does not, however, now contain the concluding Sections, 24^b. 25.
^b f. 202b.

^c 'hier': *L.*

THE RIGHT USE OF IMAGES

The following document is written on 11 leaves, in 2 gatherings (8 + 4) of folio paper and is bound up in the same volume at Lambeth as the 'Book Concerning Ceremonies' (MS. 1107^b) where this paper on the Right Use of Images occupies leaves 125-135 (leaf 130 being blank on both sides.)

On April 23rd, 1547, Dr. Pern, at St. Andrew's Undershaft, 'justified the worship of images, but preached a recantation on the 19th of June.' Burnet, *Hist. Ref.* part 2, bk. 1.

The subject of Images occupies more than 4 columns of the *Index* to the works issued by the Parker Society, in which the following references are given chiefly on p. 410. 'Images are . . . called laymen's books, or the books of the unlearned, *Calfhill*, 21, 292, 346; 2 *Cranmer* 101, 179; 1 *Hooper* 39, 41; *Hutchinson* 3; *Nowell* (10) 123; *Parker* 93 in 'Reasons against Images', to Q. Elizabeth, 1559; *Pilkington* 146; 3 *Whitgift* 32; 2 *Latimer*, 233, 353, 359, he at one time allowed them, and to the same effect 3 *Tyndale* 60, 88, and the *Institution of a Christian Man*, ap. 2 *Cranmer* 101. The phrase, 'laymen's books' *idiotarum libri* traced to Gregory the Great, 2 *Becon* 60; 2 *Jewell* 657 (see p. 410, col. 1), 660, *Calfhill* 21, n. A similar expression used by John Damascene, 1 *Hooper* 39. A treatise concerning Images, (temp. Edw. vi.) is reprinted along with *Ridley's* works 83-96 (from Foxe's 'Actes and Monuments'); and likewise Bp. Stephen Gardiner's (undated) letter to Ridley on Images, Holy Water and Cramp-rings id. 495-504. See also the Third Part of the *Sermon against Peril of Idolatry* in the 2nd Tome of *Homilies*, 1562-3, where the phrase 'blind books and dumb schoolmasters' is borrowed apparently from *Ridley*, p. 95.

'Images be suffered onelie as Bokes . . . to them that cannot read in odre (other) Bokes.' 17th *Injunction* of E. Lee, *Abp. of York*, cir. 1536.—'Ye shall instruct the People . . . how they may use (Y)images . . . only . . . as one looketh upon a Boke.' 14th *Injunction* of N. Shaxton, Bp. of Salisbury, for Dorset, 1538. Burnet *Hist. Ref.* Part III., Records to Book iii. nos. 57 and 59.)

Creeping to the Cross: See above, p. 37; and below, pp. 52, 63, 65, 67.

^a Lambeth MS.

1107, ff. 125.

¹ These words have been erased.

^a Images were first brought into the Church and set up [not to be worshipped but]¹ to be the unlearned men's book. Then ought unlearned men to use them in such sort as learned men use books of holy scripture, and none otherwise. Now, learned men neither kneel to their

books, offer to their books [go pilgrimages to their or any other man's books],^a nor pray to their books, &c. Wherefore none of these things ought the unlearned man to do to their books, the images of Christ or His Saints. Again, learned men esteem not one book better than another as concerning the right use and commoditie^b thereof, though it be lymned gorgeously or written with golden letters, neither for the antiquity thereof. No more ought the unlearned man to esteem or judge any of their books, the images, better than other, neither for the antiquity, nor for the goodly carving, painting or gilding of them, but only to use them rightly to the end they were ordained unto, that is to learn in them what is to be done, what is to be fled, what to be followed, what to be eschewed. [Learned^c men use not their books rightly, neither to the intent they were ordained unto, when they garnish a chamber with them, set them up fair and in good order, often and many times^d brush them clean from dust and filthiness, but then only use they them rightly when they read in them what is to be done, what is to be fled, what to be followed, what to be eschewed, and, after that same, order themselves. And where they find themselves unable so to do, then flee unto God by fervent prayer for ability, strength and power, nothing doubting to obtain their desires, so ought the unlearned man to use the images, their books, to read in them, that is to say to learn in looking upon them what^e is to be followed or what to be fled, and earnestly order and apply themselves thereafter and pray unto God for grace so to do. And yet nevertheless shall hereof ensue the goodly garnishing and adorning of the churches, although it be nothing, the intent of setting up the images, even as the learned man's chamber that well useth his books shall be therethrough well and seemly garnished, though that were not his intent in providing his books, but to use them to the other purpose before written. Again, that book whereby we^f learn what is to be followed by the example of any saint, is no more to be honoured than that whereby we learn what by the evil example of the wicked is to be eschewed. So then, in like manner, if ii. such

^a *These words have been erased.*

^b f. 125^b.

^c *This passage occupying nearly 35 lines in our text, has been struck out.*

^d f. 126.

^e f. 126^b.

^f f. 127.
Esai. liii.]

were set forth in carved imagery, they should and ought to be both of like reputation, but no man would worship that imagery that should set forth the desperation of Judas and his hanging. No more then ought any man to worship the imagery that should set forth the ^a virtuous example of any holy saint to be followed, but learn an example of godliness of the one, and follow it, and of the other an example what followeth desperation, and pray to God for grace to eschew and avoid it.] And this is the only right use of the images. Therefore, without doubt, [hallowing their yearly feasts], censing of them, kneeling [setting up of candles] and offering, unto them or creeping to the cross and such other, were not used to be done at the beginning, but have come in since by little and little, wherefore the people ought to be diligently taught in no ^b wise to do any of these worshippings to the image, but only to God before the image, whether it be of Christ, of the cross, or of any saint.¹ [And ^c as for setting up of candles or of offering any offerings, they would be taught clearly to leave it and to spend that money in relieving their poor brethren unto whom whatsoever we do, our Saviour Christ taketh it as done unto himself. Now have we no such promise for offering unto or before his image]. As concerning ^d saints departed and now being with Christ in heaven, they be to be honoured of all Christian people in earth not with any godly or religious honour, but with such a reverence and honour as we have to holy men here living, that is to have them in reverence and to love them, laud them and praise them for the godly and excellent virtues that God grafted and planted in them,² persuading ourselves that it becometh

^a f. 127b.

^b f. 128.

^c The passage enclosed in square brackets is erased.

^d f. 128b.

¹ Cf. Articles of 1536: "And as for censing of them and kneeling and offering unto them with other like worshippings, although the same hath entered by devotion and fallen to custom, yet the people ought to be diligently taught that they in no wise do it or think it meet to be done to the same images but only to be done to God and in his honour although it be done before the images, whether it be of Christ, or the Cross, of our Lady, or of any other Saint beside."

² "And more especially to laud and praise Christ in them for their excellent virtues which he planted in them." Articles of 1536.

us to have them in reverent memory which be so ^a honoured of the Father of heaven that it pleaseth him to bestow them there, where as our Saviour Christ is, according to the desire of our said Saviour declared unto his Father where he saith, ^b Father I will that they whom thou hast given me be with me where I am, that they may see my glory that thou hast given me. And ^c the most special honour (and memory) ^d that can be had of them is to ^e have in remembrance their virtuous living and to follow the same.^f

^g As touching praying to Saints departed [or hallowing their yearly feasts.] ^h: As we have none expresse precept thereof in the scripture whereby we [may and] ⁱ ought to exact and require it to be done (of necessity),^j so have we no plain prohibition thereof whereby we may take upon us [boldly as good and faithful ministers of God's word] ^k to forbid it to be done, therefore we number them among things which ^l [of themselves, if there were no man's ordinance to the contrary,] ^m may be done or left undone without offence of God, so that alway contempt,ⁿ arrogancy and [fearful] superstition be away, for if ^o any man of an arrogant ^p mind contemn and despise their prayer to God for us, or else of an over superstitious [and fearful] mind put over much trust in their prayers, not believing to be heard of God, but by their mediation, the same certainly cannot but grievously offend God. But and if it be done as hereafter ensueth, we cannot think but that it is both lawful and commendable to pray unto them [yea ^q whether they ^r hear us or not, whereof the certainty is not set forth to us expressly in scripture].

When by the great mercy and grace of God we be brought in to hate and earnest detestation of our sin, and are fled unto God by fervent prayer for remission and forgiveness of the same, and also for strength to withstand in time of temptation, we cannot but wish and desire in our hearts that all creatures which love God and delight in his honour should rejoice of our conversion,^s laud and praise

a f. 129.

b *Je[hu]* xvii.

c-f In another (smaller) handwriting, probably not a professional scribe's.

d 'and memory' struck out.

e 'felo' struck out.

g f. 129b.

h In another hand, and then erased.

i struck out.

j interlin.

k struck out.

l 'and' struck out.

m f. 130.

n 'hautie' altered to 'arrogant.'

o The words marked by brackets are erased.

p f. 130b.

q f. 131.

¹ In another handwriting, and then erased.

² Interlineation in another (neat) hand: Dr. M. R. James and Mr. C. W. Moule agree with Mrs. Lomas that it is Cranmer's,

him for this his work in our mutation thus begun in us, and with sighs and mournings not able to be expressed, fervently desire and pray that he will accomplish and perform, even to the end his good pleasure in us, and make us such as he would have us. And for because^a this our desire cannot be but pleasing to God, for it is to his honour that we should this desire, yea though no man other, alive or departed, knew thereof. And^b this desire is a right good prayer and well allowed of God as it is written: The Lord hath heard the desire of the poor, Thine ear hath heard the preparation of their hearts. Then seeing that we not only may have, but also it much pleaseth God that we should have this desire, we cannot perceive why we might not declare this our heart's desire by our words though no living^c man neither deceased heard them saying in this manner [to all saints or to any of them].^d "All holy angels and [saint or] saints in heaven and in earth pray [thou, or ye] for us^e and with us unto our Father of heaven, that for His only natural Son Jesus Christ's sake, we may have grace of him, and remission of our sin, with an earnest prepensed purpose not wanting ability, power nor ghostly strength to observe and keep his holy commandments, never declining from the same again unto our life's end.^f § [Not utterly unlike here unto, David with great fervour and zeal to have God lauded and praised, moveth and desireth all the (w)hole^h works of God, the sun, the moon, the fire, the water, with all other creatures to bless, honour and praise the Lord. And Daniel in like manner doth write the iii men in the furnace of fire to do the same.]ⁱ And^j in like manner, as is before expressed, we may pray to our blessed Lady, St. John Baptist, the

^a 'bycause' *interlined by another hand.*

^b f. 131^b.
Ps. ix.]

^c *The scribe has written 'livysh'.*

^d added in another handwriting and then erased.
Cf. Articles 1536.
^e f. 132.

^f 'lives end': *MS.*
^g Cancelled.

^h 'favour' *altered to 'fervor' by another hand.*

ⁱ f. 132^b.
Dr. Chr. Wordsworth, Senr. has written in pencil in the margin "See Arts. of 1536."

¹The two short passages, marked j-c, and p-s, in the text (*viz.* "And in lyke manner . . . without Any superstition."—*and*, "And lykwyse we [may *altered to*] must keep holydays . . . be orderyd"), are written (with many afterthoughts and alterations) in the handwriting of Cuthbert Tunstall, Master of the Rolls, in 1516, and Bishop of (London and) Durham. Tunstall's handwriting bears some resemblance to that of John Clerk, Master of the Rolls in 1522-3, and Bishop of Bath and Wells. (We give a *facsimile* of f. 132^b of the Lambeth MS.)

Apostles, or any (other)^a saint particularly^b as our devotion doth serve us so that it be done without any (vain)^c superstition^d as in esteeming one (saint)^e to be as patron for one thing^f and another saint for another (thing,) as St. Appollonia¹ for the toothache, [S. Blase for the throat] St. Legeard for the eyes, St. Loye for horses, St. Anthony for [diseases of] hogs, St. Rooke for the plague, St. Barbara for thunder and gun-shot, and such other.² For³ such esteeming of saints

^a 'odyr' *interlined*.

^b and kape holy days vnto God in memory of theym' *interlined above, in another hand, and afterwards struck out.*

^c 'vain': *interlin.*

^d 'to pray to one saint for one thing' *struck out.*

^e 'saint' 'thing' *interlin.*

^f 'to have cure over one kynde of diseases and a nother ('over' altered to) of a nother ('thyng' *interlined*.)

These lines are crowded in in smaller handwritings.

³ 'such prayers be struck out to be inserted below.

¹ 'Appolyne' (MS.) . . . 'Loye' . . . 'Rooke' . . . 'S. Blase for ye' *struck out*. (The missing word, which the draftsman might intend to add, was presumably 'Throat' as in Caxton's *Golden Legend*, iii. 28, 32). On prayer to SS. Apollonia, Roch, and others, cf. J. Bale, *The Ymage of Both Churches* c. viii. 3, c. xvii, g., R. Jugge, cir. 1548 (*Works*, Parker Soc. 348, 498); T. Becon, *Works* i. 139, ii. 536, iii. 43; J. Hooper, i. 457; J. Jewel ii. 922-3; T. Rogers, 228; J. Pilkington, 92; W. Tyndale, iii. 181.

Cf. Roger Hutchinson, *the Image of God, or laie mans Boke* (1550), *Works*, p. 171-2. Third Part of the sermon against Peril of Idolatry in the 2nd Tome of *Homilies*, 1562-3;

Ja. Calfhill mentions SS. Roke and George in his preface in an *Answer* to J. Martiaill's, *Treatise of the Crosse* (4^{to}. 1565), *Works* 8^{vo}., p. 20; and *Answer*, p. 345. Cf. *Precationes Piæ*, in *Private Prayers* (Q. Eliz.) Parker Soc. p. 392.

Several of these passages are cited in Chr. Wordsworth's 4th Appendix to *Tracts of Clement Maydeston*, H.B.S. pp. 199, 200, where the xiv *Auxiliatores* are named. These 'Fourteen Helpers' are mentioned in the *Hortulus Animæ* (with Sarum Hours) 1528, of which there is a copy at Lambeth, 89. L. 16. See E. Hoskins, *Primers*, p. 140. The *missa de. xiiii. sanctis auxiliatoribus* will be found printed from the Venice edition of the Roman Missal, 1543, in the H. Bradshaw Soc. *Missale Rom.* ii. 351: where there are also masses of 'Five privileged Saints' (Denys, George, Christopher, Blaise and Giles) and 'Five privileged Virgins' (SS. Katharine, Margaret, Martha, Christine and Barbara) *ib.* ii. 353, 354, from an edition of 1515. Of these privileged saints and virgins all except SS. Martha and Christine are found in the number of the xiv Helpers, among whom also SS. Pantaleon, Vitus, Cyriac, Achacius, and Eustace, as well as Erasmus, were included.

² Thus such writers as Calfhill, Becon, Bale, etc., etc., mention St. Agasse (Agatha) as invoked to help against fire, St. Agnes for maidens seeking a husband. (Becon, ii. 536, adds 'St. Sweetlad' in ridicule); Antony, Apollonia, Barbara, Blaise, Christopher, Clement and our Lady against ship-wreck, Cornelius against the foul evil or falling sick-

and praying unto them is superstitious, invented of ignorant people, which nevertheless might have good minds, but they lacked right judgement.^a

And likewise we must^b keep holy days unto God in memory of (any)^c saints upon such days as by the church thereunto be ordered.^d

^e IMAGES be not to be despised, but to be reverently kept, if they be well used, wherefore it is necessary for unlearned people to know for what intent images were first set up in churches, that for the same intent they may be used, that they be not misused. They were first set up to be unlearned men's books, that they might see in the images that which learned men do read upon their books and so to be stirred to goodness thereby, for as Christ was taken, bound, scourged, crowned with thorn, crucified, and put to death for our sakes, and learned men read the holy history thereof in the four evangelists, even so may they which cannot read^f see the same, and also they which can read be put in remembrance of the same when they enter into the church, if they cast their eyes upon the Rood, and in so doing they be

^a for (over) diseases of (for) hogges :

altered

^b 'may' altered to 'must'

^c 'any' interlin

^d The scribe (Bp.

Tunstall) was be-

ginning to write

'appoynted', and

changed it to

'orderyd'

^e f. 133.

f f. 133^b.

ness, Dorothy for herbs and flowers; Eligius, Eloy or Loy; Fiacre for ague, George in battle; St. Germain's evil; Gertrude against rats and mice, Gratian for lost thrift, Gregory for scholars, Job for the pox, John for sneezing; Leger; Leonard for captives, Luke for the ox and for painters; Nicholas for scholars and against drowning, Peter for entrance into heaven; Rock; Sith or Osith to help find things lost, especially the housewife's keys, and to preserve from fire and water; St. Uncombe's, (Wilgefortis') oats (cp. *Transac. S. Paul's Eccl. Soc.* iii. 245, 262, and L. Eckstein *Woman under Monasticism*, Camb. 1896, pp. 35-38, 43); Wulstan for good harvest. Master John Shorn's boot, into which he was said to have conjured the devil, was sought as a remedy for ague at Shorne or Merston in Kent. This is mentioned by *J. Bale* (Parker Soc.) 498; *Latimer*, i. 474, and in Dr. J. London's letter from Oxford, 31 Aug., 1538, to Crumwell (MS. Cleop. E. iv. 227). See also 'Screens and Rood-lofts,' *Church Quarterly Review*, (1910) vol. lxx. p. 113. On St. Osith, see Aubrey's *Remains of Gentilisme*, p. 129, ed. Ja. Britten, and on the variation of the date of her festival from 3 June to 7 October, see the *Tropenell Cartulary* ii. 173, 391 (index). Also *Ch. Q. Review* lxx. 112. Two votive masses of the blessed Job, prophet and confessor, (one of them, '*contra morbum gallicum*') are given by Dr. Lippe from a Roman Missal of 1543 in the appendix to *Missale Romanum*, H. B. Soc., 1907,) ii. 352.

incited to worship and to give thanks, not unto the Rood but to Him that died upon the Rood. Likewise when we behold the Images of the Apostles and martyrs which died for Christ's faith, as of Saint Paul, St. Peter, St. Stephen, and such other, we have a just occasion and provocation before our eyes to have a reverence unto these Saints for their excellent virtues, and to follow in our livings not the Images, but the saints, as they followed Christ in constancy of faith and other godly virtues.^a After this sort to have Images of Christ and Saints and so to use them is very commendable for Christian people so that they worship not the said Images in nowise, for they were not ordained at the beginning in the church to be worshipped, but only to instruct and teach. And who so doth worship the Images in the church, doth misuse them to an end than they were not ordained for, and so committeth Idolatry, which is as abominable unto Almighty God, that no sin can be more. For images of God and his saints graved and carved in stone or in timber be no otherwise to be taken or honoured than the same painted in cloth or upon walls nor^b otherwise to be taken in churches than in men's houses, chambers, and hangings. a f. 134.

As touching the Saints in heaven, they be to be honoured of all Christian men in earth, not by any religious and godly honour, but by such an honour as we have to good men here in this life, that is to have a reverence and a reverent love unto them for godly virtues, as Saint Paul saith that priests which do well their office be worthy double honour. But as for prostrations, kneelings, knockings of our breasts, holding up our hands, kissings, censings, with other such like, ought to be done alonely unto Almighty God, which is everywhere present, and not to Saints which be absent from us^c in heaven. And although many times we do these things where the Images of Saints stand before our eyes, yet the unlearned must be taught to do these things neither to the image, nor yet to the Saint but to God alonely. For as churches many times be builded where Saints' bodies do lie or their images set up, and therefore we call them Saint Peter's Church, S. Paul's church, yet the people must not think that the church is b f. 134b.

c f. 135.

builded either to Peter or Paul or any Saint, but to God only. Although the said churches be builded where the bodies, Images, or other memorials of the same Saints be. Even so must the people be taught to make their prostrations,^a kneelings, knockings of their breasts, holding up of their hands, kissing, censing with all such other like honours to God alonely, and to no Saints nor image, though they be done before the image or bones of Saints, and when they creep to the cross they must beware in any wise that they, in their hearts, think no worship to the cross, but give all the worship to him that died upon the cross. Yea, even the very Rood itself whereupon Christ died is not to be worshipped, but he that died thereupon.¹

a f. 135b.

The last leaf of the second gathering (a 4-leaf quire) is blank on both sides, f. 136, 136^b.

This paper on the Right Use of Images is in the same handwriting as the last 8 folios of the *Rationale* or 'Book of Ceremonies,' in the Lambeth MS. 1107. ff. 195-202.

¹ So J. Raynton, or whoever was the author of the treatise *Crede Michi* (cir. 1450) which Clement Maydeston enlarged, answered the objections thus:—"non crucem, sed ipsum Crucifixum adoramus, dicendo, *Ave Rex noster*." Tracts of *C. Maydeston*, §79, p. 51. Cf. *Missale Sarisburiense* cols. 262, 329-31. Durandus cites the following with other verses (*Rationale Divinorum* I. Cap. iii, n. 1.)

"Effigiem Christi, qui transis, pronus honora.
Non tamen effigiem, sed quod designat, adora."

APPENDIX I

ON THE POPULAR RELIGIOUS LITERATURE OF THE EARLY SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

THE necessity for instructing people in their religion in the vulgar tongue was always recognized in England. The Venerable Bede, writing to Archbishop Egbert in 734, lays stress on this point, especially with regard to the Creed and the Lord's Prayer.¹ The Council of Cloveshoo in 747 (Canon 10)², insists on the same point and enjoins the explanation of the services of Mass and Baptism, and the other offices of the Church, in the vulgar tongue, for the benefit of those who do not understand the Latin.

Throughout mediæval times this duty of the Clergy was constantly insisted on: in 1281 Archbishop Peckham, in his constitution³, orders a quarterly instruction, in the vulgar language, of the Creed, the Ten Commandments, the Evangelical Precepts, the Seven Works of Mercy, the Seven Deadly Sins, the Seven Principal Virtues, and the Seven Sacraments.

These indeed were the subjects included in the Prymers which were the layfolk's prayer books, whether in Latin or in English. That some sort of English Prymer and Psalter was in the hands of the laity by the middle of the fourteenth century can be gathered from *The Vision of Piers Ploughman*⁴, and by the numerous bequests of Prymers in wills of that and of the succeeding century⁵.

While MS. copies were alone available, we may conclude that the

¹ Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, vol. iii, p. 316.

² *Ibid.*, p. 366. Cf. also Myrc's *Parish Priest*, c. 1450, or earlier. Edited by E. Peacock in 1868, in the Early English Text Society Collection, vol. 31.

³ Wilkins, *Concilia*, vol. ii, p. 54. This had also been enjoined by Bishop Grosseteste in 1237, who instructed his clergy to use the English language in their sermons to their congregations, so as to be able to instruct them in the Ten Commandments, to inculcate the duty of avoiding the seven deadly sins, and to explain in simple language the nature and meaning of the seven sacraments, and to set forth the general principles of the Christian Faith, as contained in the Three Creeds.

⁴ And ich lyve in londone and on londone bothe
The lomes that ich laboure with and lyfode deserve
Is *pater-noster* and my prymer, *placebo* and *dirige*,
And my sauter somtyme and my sevene psalmes.

The Vision of Piers Ploughman. The Whitaker Text, Passus vi. l. 44. Early English Text Society Edition.

⁵ Maskell, *Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, vol. ii, p. xliii, ed. 1846.

Prymer in Latin would be as common as the Prymer in English, for either would only be available for persons of some affluence; to those who had clerkly knowledge at all, probably Latin was as familiar reading as English; but as the knowledge of letters increased and the issue of printed editions began, the reverse would be the case, and if Sir Thomas More may be taken as a witness,¹ that half the people in his day could read, we should hardly be justified in concluding that anything like that number could read Latin.

The Prymer, whether in its Latin or English² form, had probably reached its full development considerably before the introduction of printing made the multiplication of copies easy. The Prymer, however, was a book of prayers and not a *Rationale* of Rites and Ceremonies. Such a *Rationale* of the seven hours of prayer does, however, exist in the vernacular in the book known as the *Myrour of our Ladye*³, written for the Sisters of Sion about the year 1415. That it was necessary for this book to appear in English shows that, at any rate, Latin was not at that date universally understood even amongst a community of Briggittine nuns. Nor at the end of the same century was the case of the monks and priests better⁴. With the *Myrour of our Ladye* may be coupled a somewhat earlier work known as *The Layfolk's Mass Book*⁵, to enable those who were in the habit of "hearing" mass to take some intelligent part in the service.

Both these books show traces of the influence of the *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*⁶ of Durandus, who probably finished his great work during the last decade of the thirteenth century. The widespread popularity of this book shows the importance with which the actions of the minister in the various ceremonies of the Church had come to be regarded, when the words themselves were

¹ *Works*, 1557 f. 850.

² Mr. Edgar Hoskins (in his Concise List and Supplement) has enumerated 116 editions of the Sarum Prymer in Latin, printed between 1478 and 1534. These include a few devotions in English such as the xv. oes. But the first '*Prymer in English*' was printed by J. Bydell for D. Marshall 'in 1534; and for the period 1534-47, 18 more editions of 'Latin' *Horat*, and 28 of "English" Prymers, are known from copies or fragments still surviving; the later or vernacular class were described as being "for all people that vnderstonde not the latyne ('and Greek' ed. 16 June 1535) tongues." There are also 28 editions 'in English and Latin.' (See E. Hoskins, *Primers, Sarum, York and Roman*, 1901, at pp. 200; xli.-xliv., liii. &c.)

³ Edited by J. H. Blunt, in 1873, in the Early English Text Society's collection. Extra series, Vol. 19. (*Horologium Sapientiae*).

⁴ See *A Boke of Divers Ghostly Maters*. Emprynted at Westmynster [by Caxton, c. 1496.] "Here followeth a compendious abstract translated into English out of the Holy Rule of Saint Benet, for men and women of the habit thereof the which understand little Latin or none." And compare *The Doctrinal of Sapience* translated out of Frensshe in to Englysshe by Wyllyam Caxton at Westmestre 1489: "this book is made especially for the simple people, and for simple priests which understand not Latin."

⁵ Edited by T. F. Simmons in 1879 in the Early English Text Society's collection. Vol. 71.

⁶ It is a striking testimony to the demand for this book, that it was one of the first work's that issued from Gutenberg's first press in 1459, and was preceded only by the "Gutenberg Bible" of 1454-56, and the Psalter of 1459.

unintelligible to the people. Nor must it be forgotten that the system of mystical and symbolical interpretations adopted by Durandus, following St. Gregory the Great and others, was not confined merely to the rites and ceremonies of the Church, but extended also to the expounding of Holy Scripture, and was the foundation of all mediaeval homilies and sermons. The popular application of this system, however, became dangerously exaggerated in later mediaeval times, when the true meaning of ceremonies was no longer recognizable, by reason of the multitude of symbolical and mystical interpretations under which they were concealed.

Nevertheless, the popular literature of the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth centuries does not reflect this exaggeration, but rather carries us back to the good advice of Archbishop Peckham, that the instruction given to the people should be "in the vulgar language, simply, and without any fantastical admixture of subtle distinctions."

It was acknowledged by all sober-minded writers of the period that we cannot do without outward forms. "Oure lyfe is in that case that we can not be without ceremonyes. For we be not Angelicall spirites, but men: and as long as we lyve in this visible worlde, in the prison of this body, we must needes have difference of workes, of places, of offices, of tymes, of persons, and of other thynges."¹

Sir Thomas More is probably one of the best exponents of the feeling of the age in which he lived. He defends the observance of the ceremonies that have been used for so many hundred years, as against the attacks of Tyndale, who would "sette al holye ceremonies and sacraments at naught" "because God wyl not shewe hym every speciall thinge that they signifye besides the general synification of invysible grace."²

Tyndale will accept no signification which is not warranted by the words of Holy Scripture, and asserts that whoever does not understand all the significances of all the outward signs of the sacraments, it were as good to leave the sacraments unministered to him as ministered³. Sir Thomas More points out that as to the majority of ceremonies "men can and doe also for the more part of these thynges give good causes and playn open reasons, both of the significacions and of the spiritual profit and bodily both."⁴ And, moreover, he shows that Tyndale's position leads to this: that "if there are any ceremonies which it has pleased the Spirit to let his people have the profit, without declaration of the special betokening," then Tyndale "would mock the sacrament and refuse the grace because God wyll not make hym so secrete of his counseyle as to tell him why he tooke such an outward

¹ *The Olde Learynyng and the New*, see ante, *Introduction*, p. xxxvi. n. 1.

² The Confutation of Tyndall's *Answer*, made anno 1532, by Sir Thomas More Knyghte. *Works*, 1557, 2 vols. folio 375 (B. Mus. press mark C. 11. b, 15-16.)

³ *Ibid.* folio 376.

⁴ *Ibid.* folio 375.

sygne rather than such another."¹ He goes on to show that both in the Old Testament and in the New, while many rites and ceremonies have their signification explained, many also are not explained, and he rather strangely instances the use of water in Baptism and of Bread in the Mass. Tyndale thus in fact attacks the sacraments themselves, and in saying that "dumb ceremonies have taken away the sygnification of the sacraments it is not that he careth for the sygnification, but only because he would have us take the sacraments for nothing elles, but only for the bare signes of some lost significacions, and therefore not only noughte worth and superfluous, but also superstitious and noxious."²

Much, however, of the religious literature of the period was not on such controversial lines, and in books like *The Pilgrimage of Perfection*³, *The Work for householders*⁴, *Divers Holy Instructions*⁵, *The Ordinary of Christian men*⁶, we have practical treatises on the Christian life which lay far more stress on that interior training and attitude of the mind, not only on the contemplative side, but also on the side of active works of mercy, and on the cultivation of the Christian virtues and the fruits of their exercise, rather than on the externals of religion: the latter, however, are not forgotten even in such a work as the first mentioned, one entire chapter dealing with "How, in the ceremonies of the Mass we may find meditation of the whole passion of our Lord Jesus."

In this chapter the significance of the ornaments and ceremonies are detailed as in the work of Durandus, but there is not the least hint that the author lays any stress on these things as of value in themselves, apart from the devout attitude of mind which they are meant to induce. The two books of Richard Whitford are of a similar character, though more elementary, and the *Work for Householders* contains simple expositions of the Lord's Prayer, the Ave Maria, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments.

A similar work is *The Ordinary of Christian Men*, divided into

¹ Ibid. folio 483.

² Ibid. folio 642.

³ A devoute treatyse in Englysshe, called the Pilgrymage of perfeccyon; very profytable for all chrysten people to rede: and in especyall, to all relygyous persones moche necessary. The auctour of this present treatyse hath added unto it the expositioun of the Ave and the Crede with dyverse other thynges. Imprinted—Fynysshed and done—MCCCCXXXI. 4to. Wynkyn de Worde (B. M. Press Mark, 223. K i).

⁴ A Werke for Householders or for them that have the gydyng or governaunce of any company, gadered and set forth by a professed broder of Syon, Richard Whitforde, and newly corrected and printed agayne, with an addition of policy for householdyng, set forth by the same broder. 1541 (B. M. Press Mark 8403 aaa 34).

⁵ Here foloweth dyuers holy instructiouns and teachynges very necessarye for the helth of mannes soule. W. Myddylton, 4^{to} 1541. By Ric. Whitforde, from SS. Isidore and Chrysostom. (B. M. Press Mark 4408. cc. 27.)

⁶ *The Ordynarye of Crysten Men*. 1502. 4^{to}. Wynkyn de Worde. (B. Mus. press mark, c. 25 f. 21.)

five parts, the first part dealing with the Sacrament of Baptism and the twelve articles of the faith, the second with the ten commandments of the law, the third of the works of mercy, the fourth of the manner of well confessing, and the fifth of the pains of hell and the joys of Paradise. This work contains expositions of such ceremonies as are mentioned, and the importance of their signification is the point insisted on; speaking of the ceremonies of Baptism the author says, "They signify and make really indeed that, that these words signify . . . the blessed Holy Ghost, the which may not fail or bear false witness, governeth and illumineth the Church in all things, and singularly in the solemnity and custom of the Seven Sacraments. Wherefore it behoveth to say that these words, and these deeds that man holdeth, and keepeth in the custom of the Church, in executing these sacraments, be not made for nothing and without thinking, but really and truly make and signify the things before said." This book seems to have originally appeared at Rouen in French, but there were at least two English editions, one of 1502 and another of 1506. One of the most popular books of the period was *Dives and Pauper*.¹ This was couched in the favourite form of a dialogue based upon the Ten Commandments, and deals with the whole of the popular attitude towards religion, insisting in the clearest way on that sober judgement concerning external observances which is so entirely contrary to popular notions of mediaeval superstition.

Another well-known work was *The Interpretation and Significance of the Mass*², by brother Gararde. This is divided into three books: the first book is a profitable doctrine in thirty-three chapters; the second book divided into three parts, as our Lord's life is divided into three divers times comprehending the thirty-three years of His life; the Mass is divided into thirty-three articles, twelve before the Passion, sixteen of the Passion, and five of the Resurrection, each one with an explanation of its signification, a Pater noster, an Ave Maria, and a special prayer; the third book shows how a man shall confess him and prepare himself to receive the holy and blessed sacrament.

We are told that ceremonies should be done by devotion to move the hearts of the Catholic people to fervent prayer and

¹ *Dives and Pauper*. Londinii aedibus Tho Bertheleti regii impress. excus. . . . "Here endethe a compendious treatyse or dialge DIVES and PAUPER. That is to say the ryche and the poore, fructuously treatynge upon the tenne commaundmentes fynished the xvi day of Octobre In the yere of oure lorde 1536 Imprynted in Flete strete by me Thomas Berthelet, prynter unto the Kynges mooste noble grace dwellynge at the sygne of the Lucrece." The work has been ascribed (by J. Bale, cited by Tanner, *Biblioth*, p. 574) to H. Parker, D.D. Cambridge, a Carmelite of Doncaster, c. 1450, and was printed in 1493 (by Pynson) and in 1496 (by Wynkyn de Worde).

² *The Interpretacyon and Sygnyfycacyon of the Mass* by frere Garade, frere mynoure of the ordre of the Observautes. 1532. Robert Wyer (B. M. Press Mark C. 25. c. 21). See *Alcuin Club Collections*, no. v., ed. P. Dearmer, 1903, pp. iv., 141-5.

oraisons (ch. iv); that all that is done and said in the Mass hath a singular mystery and devotion in it, so that the priest does not say one word nor doth not move once his hand in the Mass, but that it doth signify something of the life of our Lord (ch. xx). We are told what the ornaments of the priest do signify, and here the work of Durandus is followed (ch. xxxii), and the book ends up with the Magnificat in English.

On the subject of Images, praying to Saints, and Pilgrimages, the popular treatises are none the less clear. *Dives and Pauper* treats of these questions with some fullness, and a book of 1525 entitled *The Image of Love*¹ has some very sound advice. The author contends that the true image of love is no image of metal or stone or timber, but nothing else than the image of God within the soul. It is argued that many good men honour the temple of God with many goodly images of great cost of silver and of gold, candlesticks and censers, &c., &c.; but, says our author, it is better to have a leaden chalice and a golden priest than a golden chalice and a leaden priest.² "Trust not too much in the outward observances and ceremonies, which indeed are little acceptable in themselves; but if ghostly and inward working goeth with them, then we may not leave of the honourable and devout customs and holy ordinances of the Church." "To have the profit of these ceremonies you must have the inward working . . . Contention and malice in religious questions are to be deprecated, and there is no room for them in the heart taken up with *Caritas Dei*."

Sir Thomas More approaches the matter more in the controversial spirit in his contest with Tyndale. He grants that the texts quoted by his opponent from Holy Scripture make against images, and he admits that there existed a great deal of superstition in connection with the honour given to particular saints; but he argues that because a good thing is evilly used that is no reason for doing away with it. "In some countries they go on hunting commonly on Good friday in ye morning for a common custom.³ Wyll ye breke that evyl custom or cast away Good friday?"⁴

As to Pilgrimages again, it is true there are abuses, but the objector's argument that God is everywhere will carry you too far,

¹ The Image of Love. "Here foloweth a goostly pamphlete or mater cōpendyously extract of holy scripture, and doctours of the chyrche called ye ymage of Love, very necessary for all vertuous persones to loke upon, . . . Thus endeth this lytylle treatyse, called the ymage of Love. Imprinted at London in the Flete Strete at the Sygne of the Sonne by Winkyn de Worde. The yere of our Lorde MCCCCXXV. The vii daye of Octobre." I cannot find a copy in the British Museum, but there is one in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge.

² Cf. the similar saying 'Quondam sacerdotes aurei ligneis calicibus utebantur etc., attributed to St. Boniface, our Wilfrid, apostle of Germany, by Walafrid Strabo, *De Rebus Eccl.* c. 24.

³ Sir T. More's *Works*, p. 116.

⁴ f. 198.

for beyond doubt God has ordained special places where he will manifest his Presence, e.g. churches.

With regard to Saints and their images, he admits we may not do worship with honour and service due as to God, either to any image of any saint or to any saint itself. "But I suppose neyther scripture nor naturall reason doth forbade that a man may do some revrence to an ymage, not fyxing hys finall contente in the ymage, but referringe it further to the honour of the person that the ymage representeth, sith that in such revrence done unto the ymage there is none honour withdrawen neither from God nor good man, but ye saint honoured in his ymage and God in his saint."¹

Again he argues, if people "thought that the ymage at Walsingham were our lady her selfe, then must they nedes thinke that our lady herselfe were that ymage. Then if in like wise they thought that the ymage at Ipyswiche were our lady her selfe and our lady her selfe were that ymage at Ipyswiche, then must they nedes thinke therewithal that all those iii were one thinge."²

It would be easy to multiply instances from the literature of the period illustrating exactly the point of view taken by the *Rationale* and the official documents which preceded it, but the above examples are sufficient to show that so far as the popular religious literature of the time was concerned, there was no lack of sound teaching on the subject of the view to be taken of ceremonial. The books cited were specially intended for layfolk; there were other books for the clergy; and if there were also scurrilous and abusive controversial works, these were mostly imported from the continent.

In an age when books were really valued, and religious questions were the main subject of interest, we cannot doubt that the works mentioned also reflected the general feeling of thinking men, and had their due influence on what was then thought to be the "settlement of religion." Indeed, it may be said that so far as the plan, the method, and the matter of authoritative religious documents of the period were concerned, these popular works had anticipated them, and nothing new or original was produced except the notion of their uniform enforcement on the nation at large, a notion that was bound from the beginning to fail of fulfilment.

¹ ff. 116, 117.

² f. 196.

APPENDIX II

ON THE BISHOPS WHO FORMED THE COMMITTEE OF CEREMONIES.

THE Bishops who formed the Committee to draw up the *Book of Ceremonies* were Thomas Goodrich, Bishop of Ely, and Robert Holgate, Bishop of Llandaff, who may be classed as of the new learning, together with John Clerk, Bishop of Bath, John Capon (or Salcot), Bishop of Salisbury, Richard Sampson, Bishop of Chichester, and John Bell, Bishop of Worcester, who may be said to have belonged to the old learning.

Thomas Goodrich had been active in the "king's business," had been a Commissioner for the reform of the ecclesiastical laws, was appointed Bishop of Ely in 1534, and showed himself zealous for the Reformation; in fact so far was this the case that he was once under the suspicion of the Privy Council in connexion with the translation of an objectionable epistle of Erasmus. He was one of the compilers of *The Institution of a Christian Man*, and in the reign of Edward VI was made Lord High Chancellor. He supported the cause of Lady Jane Grey. Bishop Hooper said of him that he was one of the six or seven bishops who comprehended the reformed doctrine relating to the Lord's Supper with as much clearness and piety as one could desire, and adds that it was only fear for their property that prevented these bishops from reforming their churches according to the rule of God's word. After such a testimony it is perhaps not strange to find that Goodrich conformed under Queen Mary, and retained his bishopric till his death in 1554.

Robert Holgate was a canon of the order of St. Gilbert of Sempringham, and when he was made Bishop of Llandaff in 1537 was master of Sempringham and prior of Watton. He was one of the compilers of *The Institution of a Christian Man*. He presided over the Council of the North at York on Tunstall's resignation, and was fully employed on secular business, and especially in the transactions between England and Scotland in 1540 and the following years. He therefore could probably have taken no active part in the compilation of *The Book of Ceremonies*. Subsequently he was appointed Archbishop of York, and received the pall from Cranmer in Lambeth Chapel. Later, he showed his zeal for the reforming party by marrying, and ordering the destruction of all the carved work and imagery in York Minster. In 1554 he was

deprived, but he bought himself off for £1,000, repudiated his marriage, and died (1556).¹

John Clerk, Bishop of Bath and Wells, was a diplomatist all his life: he had, however, some considerable literary ability: he was one of the compilers of *The Institution of a Christian Man*. He was made Master of the Rolls in 1522, and a bishop in 1523. Most of his time was then spent abroad, and in 1540, when he was returning from an embassy to the Duke of Cleves, he fell ill, but lived to return home where he died on January 3, 1541². He could not, therefore, have taken much part in the *Book of Ceremonies*.

John Capon (or Salcot) was a Benedictine and a scholar. He was a Court preacher, held various abbacies, and was made Bishop of Bangor in 1534, and translated to Salisbury in 1539. He was much abused by the more ardent reformers, and Foxe calls him a false dissembling bishop. He was a member of the Committee to revise the Church books at the end of Henry VIII's reign, and conformed under Queen Mary. He died October 6th, 1557.

Richard Sampson, Bishop of Chichester, was another of the diplomatist prelates; he spent his early life abroad, where he made the acquaintance of Erasmus. He was one of Henry's chief agents in the divorce and supremacy questions, and was made bishop in 1536. He also was one of the compilers of *The Institution of a Christian Man*. His general attitude was conservative: he supported the Six Articles, fell into disgrace with Crumwell, and was sent to the Tower in 1540, from which he was released on the fall of the favourite, and in 1542-3 translated to Coventry and Lichfield: he died in 1554. He was versed in ritual and ceremonial matters, and had studied them with Stokesley, Bishop of London, and Tunstall, Bishop of Durham, when they were busy with *The Institution of a Christian Man*, and he specially mentions the Greek books that they discussed together, and how all were agreed "that the old traditions needs must be kept."³

John Bell, Bishop of Worcester, was more of a scholar than a diplomatist, though part of his early life was spent in the latter capacity. He helped to draw up *The Articles about Religion* and *The Institution of a Christian Man*, and his answers with regard to Confirmation in connexion with the latter work is worth quoting as showing his

¹ A specimen of Holgate's handwriting may be seen in B.M. MSS. : Caligula vii., 239, of Clerk's in Harl. : 283 f. 160 J. Capon (or Salcot) in Harl. : 6996 f. 189 of Sampson's Cleop. : E.v. 300. A specimen of the writing of T. Goodrich, and likewise of J. Bell (when Archdeacon of Gloucester) occurs among the opinions on Confirmation in the last named MS.

² There is a letter of Clerk's in Harleian MSS., 283, f. 160 to the Lord Privy Seal beseeching him "not to suffer any man being a stranger unto you to see my book except it be my Lord of Hereford or Chichester, for it is but a rude thing." He fears also to have displeased the King with this book. What this book was we do not know: the letter is not dated.

³ See his letter from the Tower, to Crumwell, 1540; *Letters and papers, Henry VIII*, vol. xv. No. 758.

attitude of mind towards Church ordinances.¹ He was made bishop of Worcester in 1539, and resigned his see in 1543. He died in 1556.²

Of these six bishops Holgate and Clerk probably took no part in the *Book of Ceremonies*. Sampson was perhaps too much upset by his political misfortunes to have done much, so that Goodrich, Capon, and Bell may have formed the working Committee.

[NOTE.—I am indebted to the *Dictionary of National Biography* for most of the above details as to the lives of these six bishops. The dates have been checked by W. Stubbs, *Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum* 1858].

¹ His answer as to Confirmation is "It is instituted by Christ I take it thinking verily that none other might institute a Sacrament as we here take and use the name of Sacrament to be a sensible sign having an infallible assistance of grace of the Holy Ghost and so hath both the sign and the very cause thereof." Strype, *Ecc. Mem.* I. ii. 88.

² Pocock's *Burnet* vol. iii. p. 285.

APPENDIX III

I. FROM THE ARTICLES ABOUT RELIGION, SET OUT BY THE CONVOCATION AND PUBLISHED BY THE KING'S AUTHORITY, 1536.

[§ 6.] *Of Images.*

As touching images, truth it is that the same have been used in the Old Testament, and also for the great abuses of them sometimes destroyed and put down; and in the New Testament they have been also allowed, as good authors do declare. Wherefore we will that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach our people committed by us to their spiritual charge, how they ought and may use them. And first, that there may be attributed unto them, that they be representers of virtue and good example, and that they also be by occasion the kindlers and stirrers of men's minds, and make men often remember and lament their sins and offences, especially the images of Christ and Our Lady; and that therefore it is meet that they should stand in the churches, and none otherwise to be esteemed: and to the intent the rude people should not from henceforth take such superstition, as in times past it is thought that the same hath used to do, we will that our bishops and preachers diligently shall teach them, and according to this doctrine reform their abuses for else there might fortune idolatry to ensue, which God forbid. And as for censuring of them, and kneeling and offering unto them, with other like worshippings, altho the same hath entered by devotion, and fallen to custom; yet the people ought diligently to be taught that they in no ways^a do it, nor think it meet to be done to the same images, but only to be done to God, and in his honour, although it be done before the images, whether it be of Christ, of the Cross, or of Our Lady, or of any other Saint beside.

[§ 7.] *Of honouring of Saints.*

As touching the honouring of Saints, we will that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach our people committed by us unto their spiritual charge, that Saints now being with Christ in heaven be to be honoured of Christian people in earth; but not with that confidence and honour which are only due unto God, trusting to attain at their hands that which must be had only of God; but that they be thus to be honoured, because they be known the elect persons of Christ, because they be passed in Godly life out of this transitory world, because they already do reign in glory with Christ; and most

^a 'in no wise'
Berthelet's text (as reprinted in 1825, in Bp. Lloyd's Introduction, to 'Formularies of Faith in the reign of Henry VIII.' p. xxviii.)

specially to laud and praise Christ in them for their excellent virtues which he planted in them, for example, of and by them to such as are yet in this world to live in virtue and goodness, and also not to fear to die for Christ and his cause, as some of them did; and finally to take them, in that they may, to be the^a advancers of our prayers and demands unto Christ. By these ways, and such like, be saints to be honoured and had in reverence, and by none other.

^a *Berth. omits*
'the.'

[§ 8.] *Of praying to Saints.*

As touching praying to Saints, we will that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach our people committed by us unto their spiritual charge, that albeit grace, remission of sin, and salvation, cannot be obtained but of God only by the mediation of our Saviour Christ, which is only sufficient mediator for our sins; yet it is very laudable to pray to Saints in heaven everlastingly living, whose charity is ever permanent, to be intercessors, and to pray for us and with us, unto Almighty God after this manner: All holy angels and saints in heaven pray for us and with us unto the Father, that for his dear Son Jesus Christ's sake we may have grace of him, and remission of our sins, with an earnest purpose, not wanting ghostly strength, to observe and keep his holy commandments, and never to decline from the same again unto our lives' end: and in this manner we may pray to our blessed Lady, to St. John Baptist, to all and every of the Apostles or any other saint particularly, as our devotion doth serve us; so that it be done without any vain superstition, as to think that any saint is more merciful, or will hear us sooner than Christ, or that any saint doth serve for one thing more than another, or is patron of the same. And likewise we must keep holydays unto God, in memory of him and his saints, upon such days as the Church hath ordained their memories to be celebrated; except they be mitigated and moderated by the consent or commandment of [us]^b the supreme head, to the ordinaries, and then the subjects ought to obey it.

^b 'Us the supreme head:' *Berth.* the word *us* (not in MS. *Cleop.* E.g.) 'having in all probability been inserted by the king's own hand.' *Bp. Lloyd.*, ubi supra, p. vii.

[§ 9.] *Of Rites and Ceremonies.*

As concerning the rites and ceremonies of Christ's Church, as to have such vestments in doing God service as be and have been most part used, as sprinkling of holy water to put us in remembrance of our baptism, and the blood of Christ sprinkled for our redemption upon the cross: giving of holy bread, to put us in remembrance of the sacrament of the altar, that all Christian men be one body mystical of Christ, as the bread is made of many grains, and yet but one loaf, and to put us in remembrance of the receiving^c the holy sacrament and body of Christ, the which we ought to receive in right charity; which in the beginning of Christ's Church men did more often receive than they use nowadays to do: bearing of candles on Candlemas-day, in memory of Christ the spiritual light, of whom

^c receiving of:
Berth.

Simeon did prophesy, as is read in the Church that day : giving ashes on Ash Wednesday, to put in remembrance every Christian man in the beginning of Lent and penance, that he is but ashes and earth, and thereto shall return ; which is right necessary to be uttered henceforth in our mother tongue always on the same day : bearing of Palms on Palm Sunday, in memory of [the]^a receiving of Christ into Jerusalem, a little before his death, that we may have the same desire to receive him into our hearts : creeping to the cross, and humbling ourselves to Christ on Good Friday before the cross, and offering thereunto Christ^b before the same, and kissing of it in memory of our redemption by Christ made upon the Cross ; setting up the sepulture of Christ, whose body after his death was buried ; the hallowing of the font, and other like exorcisms and benedictions by the ministers of Christ's Church ; and all other like laudable custom, rites, and ceremonies be not to be contemned and cast away but to be used and continued as things good and laudable to put us in remembrance of those spiritual things that they do signify ; not suffering them to be forgotten, or to be put in oblivion ; but renewing them in our memories from time to time : but none of these ceremonies have power to remit sin, but only to stir and lift up our minds unto God, by whom only our sins be forgiven. [Lloyd's *Formularies of Faith*, pp. 13-16 ; from Brit. Mus. MS. Cotton Cleop. E. 9 See also Bp. Lloyd's reprint, in his Preface, pp. xxviii-xxxi. of the same articles printed by T. Berthelet, the king's printers, 1536.]

^a add 'the'
Berth.

^b 'those offering
unto Christ.'
Berth.

II. FROM THE INSTITUTION OF A CHRISTIAN MAN, 1537.

The Exposition of the Second Commandment.

. . . Although all images, be they engraven, painted, or wrought in arras, or in any otherwise made, be so prohibited that they may neither be bowed down unto nor worshipped (forasmuch as they be the works of man's hands only), yet they be not so prohibited, but that they may be had and set up in churches, so it be for none other purpose but only to the intent that we (in beholding and looking upon them, as in certain books, and seeing represented in them the manifold examples of virtues, which were in the saints, represented by the said images) may the rather be provoked, kindled and stirred to yield thanks to our Lord, and to praise him in his said saints, and to remember and lament our sins and offences, and to pray God that we may have grace to follow their goodness and holy living. As for an example : The image of our Saviour, as an open book, hangeth on the cross in the rood, or is painted in cloths, walls or windows, to the intent that beside the examples of virtues which we may learn at Christ, we may be also many ways provoked to remember his painful and cruel passion, and also to consider ourselves, when we behold the said image, and to condemn and abhor our sin, which was the cause of his so cruel death, and thereby to profess that we will

no more sin. And furthermore, considering what high charity was in him that would die for us his enemies, and what great dangers we have escaped, and what high benefits we receive by his redemption we may be provoked in all our distresses and troubles to run for comfort unto him. All these lessons with many more, we may learn in this book of the rood, if we will entirely and earnestly look upon it. And as the life of our Saviour Christ is represented by this image, even so the lives of the holy saints which followed him be represented unto us by their images. And therefore the said images may well be set up in churches, to be as books for unlearned people, to learn therein examples of humility, charity, patience, temperance, contempt of the world, the flesh, and the devil, and to learn example of all other virtue, and for the other causes above rehearsed. For which causes only images be to be set in the churches, and not for any honour to be done unto them. For although we use to cense the said images, and to kneel before them, and to offer unto them, and to kiss their feet, and such other things, yet we must know and understand that such things be not nor ought to be done to the image's self, but only to God, and in his honour, or in the honour of the holy saint or saints which be presented by the said images. . . . That all they do greatly err which put difference between image and image, trusting more in one than in another; as though one could help or do more than another, when both do represent but one thing, and, saving by way of representation, neither of them is able to work or to do anything. And they also that be more ready with their substance to deck dead images gorgeously and gloriously, than with the same to help poor Christian people, the quick and lively images of God, which is the necessary work of charity, commanded by God; and they also that so dote in this belief, that they make vows, and go on pilgrimages even to the images, and there do call upon the same images for aid and help, phantasying that either the image will work, or else some other thing in the image, or God for the image's sake, as though God wrought by images carved, engraven or painted brought once into churches, as he doth work by other his creatures. In which things, if any person heretofore hath or yet doth offend, all good and well learned men have great cause to lament such error and rudeness, and to put their studies and diligence for the reformation of the same.

[Lloyd's *Formularies of Faith*, pp. 135-8.]

The Exposition of the Fourth Commandment. (Concluding Paragraph)

And therefore concerning such ceremonies of the church,¹ we think it convenient that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach the

¹—²In the corresponding place in *A Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man*, the passage (on pp. 66, 67 of our extract from the *Institution of a Christian Man*) runs somewhat differently, as follows: . . . 'as have been institute by our forefathers, and be allowed by the princes or kings of the dominions, which next to God be the chief heads of the churches, although men ought not to have so fond opinion of the said ceremonies to think that they have power.' (*Formularies*, C. Lloyd, 1825, p. 310.)

people committed unto their spiritual charge, that although the said ceremonies have no power^a to remit sin, yet they be very expedient things to stir and cause us to lift up our minds unto God, and to put us in continual remembrance of those spiritual things which be signified by them : as sprinkling of holy water doth put us in remembrance of our baptism, and the blood of Christ, sprinkled for our redemption upon the cross. Giving of holy bread doth put us in remembrance of the sacrament of the altar, which we ought to receive in right charity ; and also that all Christian men be one body mystical of Christ, as the bread is made of many grains, and yet but one loaf. Bearing of candles on Candlemass-day doth put us in remembrance of Christ the spiritual light, of whom Simeon did prophesy, as is read in the church that day. Giving of ashes on Ash Wednesday doth put us in remembrance, that every Christian man, in the beginning of Lent and penance, should consider that he is but ashes and earth, and thereto shall return. Bearing of palms on Palm-Sunday doth put us into remembrance of the receiving of Christ into Jerusalem a little before his death, and that we must have the same desire to receive him into our hearts. Creeping to the cross, and humbling ourselves to Christ on Good Friday before the cross, and there offering unto Christ before the same, and kissing of it putteth us in remembrance of our redemption by Christ made upon the cross. And so finally the setting up of the sepulture of Christ, whose body after his death was buried. The hallowing of the font, and other like exorcisms, and benedictions done by Christ's Church, and all other laudable customs, rites, and ceremonies, do put us in remembrance of some spiritual thing. And that therefore they be not to be contemned and cast away, but to be used and continued as things good and laudable for the purposes abovesaid. [Lloyd's *Formularies of Faith*, pp. 147-8.]

III. *A Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man* (1543), contains the same teaching in almost the same words, (See Lloyd, pp. 310-11) incorporated from the *Institution of a Christian Man*, the elaboration of the explanations of ceremonial being left to the Committee of Bishops appointed to draw up the *Book of Ceremonies*.

IV. STATUTE 32 HENRY VIII, c. 26 (1540).

Where the King's royal majesty of his blessed and gracious disposition, like as his Highness is our Sovereign leige lord and supreme head of the Church of England, so his Grace taketh the care and sollicitude thereof, moste diligently forseeing and providing all that can be to the quiet union concord wealth prosperity and furtherance of the same : Considering also that nothing so much troubleth the Common wealth and hindereth quiet and concord as diversity of opinions and belief, specially in things that concern Almighty God and his religion. And of his prudence and [wisdom] well weighing that out of sundry outward places and parties there have sprung been sown

and set forth divers heretical erroneous and dangerous opinions and doctrines in the religion of Christ whereby some of his graces leige people might be not only disquieted and moved to variances strifes commotions or seditions among themselves to the utter destruction and undoing of themselves and of their whole posterity for ever, but also induced and assured unto unfaithfulness misbelief miscreance and contempt of God to the utter confusion and dampnation of their souls, unless by his Majesty's providence some good remedy should be advanced for the same: Hath of his bountiful royal [clemence] therefore appointed established and ordained the archbishop and sundry bishops of both provinces of Canterbury and York within this his realms and also a great number of the best learned honestest and most virtuous sort of the Doctors of Divinity men of discretion judgment and good disposition, of the said realm to the intent that according to the very Gospel and law of God, without any partial respect or affection to the papistical sort, or any other sect or sects whatsoever they be, should declare by writing and publish as well the principal articles and points of our faith and belief with the declaration true understanding and observation of such other expedient points as by them with his Grace's advice counsel and consent shall be thought needful and expedient, and also for the lawful rites ceremonies and observation of God's service within this his Grace's Realm. And for-as-much as the true definition determination and declaration thereof requireth ripe and mature deliberation and advice, and that so high and godly things may not rashly be defined determined and set forth nor to be a strict or restrayned to this present Session or any other Session of this present Parliament but from time to time be defined determined concluded and published as the case shall require, and as his Majesty with the advice of his most honourable Counsel and such as his Highness hath appointed or shall from time to time appoint to the same shall think most convenient. Be it therefore enacted ordained and established by the King's Majesty with the Assent of the Lords spiritual and temporal and the Commons in this present Parliament assembled and by the authority of the same that all and every determinations declarations decrees definitions resolutions and ordinances, as according to God's Word and Christ's Gospel by his Majesty's advice and confirmation by his letters patent under his Grace's great seal shall at any time hereafter be made set forth declared decreed defined resolved and ordained by the said Archbishops Bishops and Doctors now appointed or other persons hereafter to be appointed by his Royal Majesty or else by the whole Clergy of England in and upon the matter of Christ's religion and Christian faith and the lawful rites ceremonies and observations of the same shall be in all and every point limitation and circumstance thereof by all his Grace's subjects and other resiantes and inhabitants within this his Grace's realm and other his Grace's dominions fully believed obeyed observed and performed to all purposes and intents constructions and interpretations upon the pain and penalties therein to

be comprised, as if the determinations declarations decrees definitions resolutions and ordinances and every of them with the pains and penalties therein comprised had been were or should be by express words terms and sentences plainly and fully made set forth declared rehearsed and contained in this present act, any use custom or statute heretofore had used observed or accustomed to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding. Provided always that nothing shall be done ordained defined or provided by authority of this act which shall be repugnant or contrariant to the laws and statutes of this Realm: Any thing in this act contained to the contrary notwithstanding. (*Statutes of the Realm*, Vol. III, p. 783. Ed. 1817).

APPENDIX IV

THE DIFFERENT MANNER OF PROCEDURE ADOPTED IN BRINGING FORWARD—(i) THE TEN ARTICLES, (ii) THE INSTITUTION OF A CHRISTIAN MAN, (iii) THE SIX ARTICLES, AND (iv) THE NECESSARY DOCTRINE AND ERUDITION FOR ANY CHRISTIAN MAN, WITH WHICH THE RATIONALE IS SO CLOSELY CONNECTED.

(i) *The Ten Articles.*

On July 11, 1536, the Ten Articles were agreed upon "by all you the bishops and whole clergy of this our realm in Convocation¹." They were further enforced by the injunctions of the same year, issued by the King through Crumwell to the Deans.² Parliament was dissolved on July 18, seven days after they had been finally settled by Convocation, and it seems they never came before either of the Houses of Parliament.³ The King seems to have signified his command to the Convocation Houses, and then to have left the matter in their hands, enforcing their decision by letters and injunctions.

(ii) *The Institution of a Christian Man.*

Parliament did not meet again till April 28, 1539, so that in 1537 neither Parliament nor Convocation was sitting; and for the compiling of *The Institution of a Christian Man*, the bishops say in their preface⁴ that "Yr hyghness commanded us nowe of late to assemble ourselves together." This was in February, as we see from the letters of John Husse to Lord Lisle. "Most part of the Bishops have come, but no one knows what is to be done⁵." Their labours finished on July 17, and *The Institution of a Christian Man* was duly printed by T. Berthelet, the King's printer, with a goodly number of signatures of the Upper and Lower Houses of Convocation, and with a Preface almost in the form of a petition from the bishops to the King. The King then saw good to command that it should be taught for three years,⁶ though he repudiated all responsibility for its contents, throwing

¹ The King's Letter to the Bishops Nov. 19, 1536, Wilkins, *Concilia*, vol. iii. p. 825.

² Wilkins, *Concilia*, vol. iii. p. 813.

³ *Journals of the House of Lords*, vol. i. pp. 88-102.

⁴ Wilkins, *Concilia*, 830.

⁵ *Letters and Papers Henry VIII*, vol. xii. pt ii. nos. 289, 293, 295.

⁶ See *Introduction*, p. xxxiv, note.

that upon the bishops. It was also clear that he intended a revision under his own eye. The Ten Articles then had the full authority "of all the bishops and whole clergy in Convocation," and the royal injunctions for their observance. *The Institution of a Christian Man* had only such ecclesiastical authority as the names of the subscribers carried, and such civil authority as the King's command for its being taught implied.

(iii) *The Six Articles.*

Parliament assembled on April 28, 1539,¹ and Convocation on May 2²; The plan then adopted was for the religious difficulty of the moment to be threshed out by a Committee of the House of Lords composed of Crumwell, the archbishops, and six bishops, and when they had devised a plan for reconciling diversities of opinion they were to place it before Parliament. They failed to do anything, and the Six Articles were finally formulated by a committee of the whole House, and on May 16 it was decided that they should be examined in full Parliament.³ They were debated for several days in the House of Lords. John Husse writes to Lord Lisle on May 21, "The Lords have sitten daily in Council upon the same and the king's highness hath been with them sundry times in person⁴." That there was some difficulty in getting the matter through Parliament is illustrated by many contemporary letters between May 20 and June 9.⁵ Meanwhile, on Monday, June 2, the six questions had been placed before Convocation and answers had been returned on the following Thursday⁶ apparently in agreement with the decisions of the House of Lords as led by the king. On Saturday of the same week, June 7, the Lord Chancellor introduced the penal clause of the Bill of the Six Articles and it was read the first time. It passed the Lords on June 10 and the Commons on June 14,⁷ and the whole Bill received the Royal assent on June 28, 1540.

(iv) *A necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man.*

A similar plan was adopted in 1540, when the King took the matter up again, the precedent established in 1539 was followed. At the opening of Parliament on April 12, Crumwell announced in the House of Lords the selection of Committees to revise *The Institution of a Christian Man* and settle a Rationale of

¹ *Journals of the House of Lords*, vol. i. p. 103.

² Wilkins, *Concilia*, vol. iii. p. 845.

³ *Journals of the House of Lords*, vol. i. p. 109.

⁴ i.e. May 19 and 21; *Journals of the House of Lords*, vol. i. pp. 109, 111. *Letters and Papers Henry viii.* vol. xiv. p. 1. no. 1003.

⁵ *Letters and Papers, Henry viii.*, vol. xiv. pt. i. nos. 989, 900, 1015, 1091, 1092.

⁶ Wilkins, *Concilia*, vol. iii. p. 835.

⁷ *Journals of the House of Lords*, vol. i. p. 117.

Ceremonial.¹ These were Committees of Members of Convocation, but not strictly Committees of Convocation, for Convocation did not meet till two days later, and these Committees were appointed in the House of Lords. Again, they are not Committees of the House of Lords, because, one of them contains twelve members who did not belong to that House. Convocation when it assembled on April 14 busied itself with other matters and did not touch upon the revision of *The Institution of a Christian Man* or the Rationale of Ceremonies, and was dissolved on July 28.² We may therefore say they were committees of the bishops and learned men nominated by the King, whose selection and appointment for the carrying out of this special work was assented to by the House of Lords on the motion of the Vicegerent, and the whole matter embodied in the Act of Parliament³ passed on June 6 (32 Henry VIII, c. 26) which "enacted ordained and established by the King's will the assent of the Lords spiritual and temporal and the Commons in this present Parliament assembled and by authority of the same that all and every determinations declarations decrees definitions resolutions and ordinances, as according to God's word and Christ's Gospel by his Majesty's advice and confirmation by his letters patent under his Grace's Great Seal shall at any time hereafter be made set forth declared decreed defined resolved and ordained by the said Archbishops Bishops and Doctors now appointed or other persons hereafter to be appointed by his Royal Majesty or else by the whole Clergy of England in and upon the matter of Christ's religion and Christ's faith and the lawful rites ceremonies and observations of the same shall be in all and every point limitation and circumstance thereof—by all his Grace's subjects—believed obeyed observed and performed."

The work of such a committee was to prepare business to lay before Convocation when that body met. It appears that for purely ecclesiastical affairs the commandment of the King without any commission under the King's seal was alone necessary for its appointment. When, on the other hand, matters, partly ecclesiastical and partly civil were involved, e.g. the matter of the divorce of Anne of Cleves upon which Henry VIII desired the opinion of Convocation, the King was careful to issue a Commission under the Great Seal, and the members, in sending in their report, quote the words of the Commission *in extenso*. The reason for this difference is that while it is within the proper function of Convocation to consider *Ecclesiastical*

¹ Ibid vol. i. pp. 128, 129. 'A necessary doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man' was printed by Thomas Berthelet, 29 May, 1543, in 4to. Mr. C. E. Sayle distinguishes two issues in 8vo. of which the first, at least, bears precisely the same date as the quarto. J. Mayler also printed one in 8vo. sette forth by the King's maieste in the same year. C. E. Sayle, *Cambridge Univ. Library, Early English Printed Books*, i. pp. 93, 94, 96, 135. A Latin version '*Pia et Catholica Christiani Hominis Institutio*' came from Berthelet's press, 4to. 18 Feb. 1544. (*id.* p. 96).

² Wilkins, *Concilia*, vol. iii. p. 835.

³ See above Appendix III, no. iv., at p. 68.

affairs, the clergy could not take cognizance of such matters of mixed import as that of Anne of Cleves till the King's Commission empowered them to debate and consider it.¹ But in whichever way it may be regarded, it seems that the King had increased his power of suggestion to something very much like command; and this was the beginning of the later system which restricted the power of debate in Convocation to such subjects as the Letters of Licence mentioned.

¹ Atterbury, *The Rights, Powers, and Privileges of our English Convocation*, p. 299, 2nd ed. : London, 1701.

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2. The Work of the Club shall be the publication of Tracts dealing with the Object of the Club, and such other works as may seem desirable, with reproductions of miniatures from MSS., and photographs of Church Furniture, Ornaments and Vestments.

3. The Club shall consist of Members and Associates, to be elected by the Committee; all Members and Associates to be in communion with the Church of England.

4. The subscription for Members shall be 20s. per annum, entitling them to all publications *gratis*, and for Associates, 2s. 6d. per annum, entitling them to such of the Tracts *gratis*, and such reductions on other publications as the Committee may determine. There shall be no Entrance Fee nor Composition for Subscriptions.

5. The affairs of the Club shall be managed by a Chairman and a Committee of not more than twenty Members or Associates, to be elected by Members of the Club, and subject as to one-fifth, to retirement by rotation annually.

6. A General Meeting of the Club shall be held every year on May 19th (the anniversary of the death of Alcuin), for the purpose of receiving a Report from the Committee, electing Committee-men, and transacting the general business of the Club.

7. A General Meeting of the Club may be called at any time by the Chairman or five Members of the Committee.

8. The Chairman, Treasurer and Secretary shall be elected by the Committee from among their number.

9. No alteration shall be made in the rules of the Club except at a General Meeting of the Members, seven days' notice of the proposed change having been sent beforehand to all Members of the Club.

* * Persons wishing to join the Club are requested to communicate with the Hon. Secretary, 5 Antrim Mansions, N.W., who will send full information.

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